

AN
EARNEST APPEAL
FOR
MERCY

To the CHILDREN of the POOR,

*particularly those belonging to the Parishes within the Bills of Mortality,
appointed by an Act of Parliament to be registered,*

BEING

*A general reference to the deserving conduct of some Parish Officers, and the
pernicious effects of the ignorance and ill-judged parsimony of others.*

WITH SOME

COMPARATIVE VIEWS

of these Parishes and the Foundling Hospital;

*And Reason for the necessity of maintaining in these almshouses, to be maintained
for certain purposes only, and under certain regulations.*

ALSO

*A Proposal for the more effectual preserving the Parish Children here, and
in other great cities and manufacturing towns, and rendering the
children of the poor in general pious, useful, and good subjects.*

By Jonas Hanway, Esq;

LONDON:

Sold by J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; J. RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-yard;
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MDCCLXVI.

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EMERSON'S PAPERS

M. E. C. Y.

To the Editors of the

Atlantic Monthly

and

the

Quarterly Review

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T O

ROSE FULLER, Esq;

DEAR SIR,

WHEN you engaged in the cause of the infant poor (a), you intimated to me that *I must see to the execution of the design*. I should indeed think myself happy to follow your example, and relieve the distressed so far as my power extends; and I apprehend the *act* of the legislature might be a means of supplying the want of the Foundling Hospital, as to the *good* part of that institution, without administering to any of the evils it created.

With regard to the keeping a register of the infant poor within the bills of mortality, though the ignorance or inadvertency of some parish officers should not always admit of its being done with accuracy, it afforded the pleasing hopes that much the greater part of those officers might in a short time be brought into order, and restore the reign of humanity.—The common people

A 2

have

(a) In 1762.

have understood the tendency of the design so well that *they* call it *an act for keeping children alive*.

In all cures of the body, *politic* or *natural*, it is one great point gained to discover the true nature of the disease, and the cause whence it arises. Many of our complaints are made from rumor, and many more from fashion. Difficulties increase in proportion as custom prevails over reason; and whilst *Truth* is disguised by *Prejudice*, it becomes an arduous task to find her out.

The register seems to point at the object we have been seeking for these thirty years, but more particularly in 1756, when parliament opened the Foundling Hospital for an indiscriminate reception of infants. If we at length make such clear and ample discoveries as may render that hospital instrumental to the relief of the friendless, on this spot, without encouraging any tyranny in parochial officers, or any neglect of maternal tenderness, the work will be accomplished.

As to cases wherein the mother is living and in health, if she is relieved properly, and as the spirit of our laws directs, the child at her breast will be relieved also, in most cases, beyond all the art and contrivance of the acutest politician.

DEDICATION.

I have hitherto contented myself to animadvert on the act in general (a), waiting to see the correction of faults which I could not control; and to praise where I could do it with truth and candor. I was determined to wait for a radical investigation of my subject, before I carried my design into full execution.

You will have the pleasure to see that many happy effects already attend the register; tho' it is also as true that parochial officers, in several parishes, are yet negligent, even to a crime, which in some countries might be deemed capital.

One of our most important inquietudes, especially in time of war, is that we want people, and yet many lives are lost by the grossest negligence in our *police*. Is there any danger of our having too many *good people*, either in peace or war?

Fortunately for this nation the *poors rates*, so frequently complained of, are the instruments of preserving a vast number of subjects, particularly children, who are so much more valuable than the aged.

If humanity, or religion, or the true love of our country, operate on the minds of men of sense in authority,

(a) Serious Considerations on the salutary Design of the Act of Parliament for a regular uniform Register of the Parish Poor, 1762, sold by J. Rivington.

authority, no part of our poors rates will be misapplied with regard to *infant life*, more than towards *adults*; or within the *bills of mortality*, more than in *any other part of the kingdom*.

I am well persuaded, when some of these sheets are perused, the same patriotic zeal which inspired you, and our compassionate and discerning friends, who adopted the salutary principles on which the *register* is founded, will induce them also to defend the act, and prevent its violation. And so long as I am able, I will take my share in the glorious labors of humanity and public love! I am, with the highest esteem,

DEAR SIR,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

Red-Lion-Square,
May 10, 1766.

JONAS HANWAY.

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SECTION I.

Observations on the State of the Infant Parish Poor.

1. **I**T is generally acknowledged, that a *ninth part* of the whole people of *England* are congregated within the bills of mortality; and there is too great cause to believe, that a yet larger proportion of the iniquity of the whole land is included in this space.

2. The *disease* which the *Foundling Hospital* was intended to remedy was of such a nature, that *private* donations, in the meridian reputation of this institution, could by no means be adequate to the *cure*; so that what was done previous to the adoption of the hospital by the *public* in 1756, was so small an object, in the great view of things, as to become of very little value, not only from the trifling number relieved, but from the manner of chusing them; and yet if the children most in danger of death had been taken in, it might not have answered the end of acquiring any reputation, as a much smaller number would have been preserved.

3. These *great cities* ought to be considered in a very different light from all other parts of the kingdom: they are, with respect to the rest, what the *head* is to the *limbs*; the calamities which befall them, by the greater mortality of inhabitants, necessarily affecting the *whole*. If the *same proportion* of mortality prevailed universally, the very existence of the nation must cease.

4. The *poor's rates* are of very ancient standing, and might, by the true application, have answered all the ends in view; but whether a superstitious reverence for *custom*, a fear of trespassing on the office of overseers and churchwardens, or that so many infants annually were doomed to be offered up, is hard to say. The evil remained long after it was discovered, and exists in a great degree, to this day.

5. If our *grandeur* and *opulence*, as a nation, are wounded in a vital part by the mortality of the poorer inhabitants of the *metropolis*, it must necessarily create so much the greater drain from the *country* whence the general supply arises, and affect the *public expence* of lives. And as the productions of the earth stand first in rank, if we have not the first view to the keeping a sufficient number of hands employed in agriculture, the whole will languish and decay.

6. The idea of a Foundling Hospital is built on the supposition of its being a *secure* method of preserving lives; and our warmest advocates for it reasoned on this principle: but this is taking for granted what experience contradicts. The method which nature has appointed is so much safer, as the experience of all countries proves, that it is only an urgent necessity where parish-rates for the poor are unknown, as in lands of popery, that drives them into this expedient.

7. We were not warranted to tax the whole for the local benefit of a part, which naturally superinduced an indiscriminate reception, though at the same time it implied, that a child might be brought 3 or 400 miles at the almost certain loss of its life, unless the mother came with it, and then the expence would have been much better employed in keeping it at home,

home, even if an hospital could have commanded any number of the best nurses, which was impossible to be done. The event proved, that upon this plan, what was intended as a remedy became a disease; and a destruction of lives was created, in several instances, where it was meant to preserve them.

8. As the case now stands, I see no probability of extending the Foundling Hospital so far as to reach the disease we complain of, but by the *parish-rates* in those parishes which do not preserve their infant poor.—And if this is not done, I believe that a considerable portion of the infants of the poor, born in these cities, will be lost.—Either the lawless commerce of the sexes, the poverty occasioned by vice, the indolence, sickness, or want of work, which in the course of human life will happen among so vast a multitude as 7 or 800,000 inhabitants, will also create peculiar evils which must be provided for; and it proves but little, that the method of doing this is obvious, if the defect in the execution is equally apparent.

9. What is said by the late ingenious and humane Dr. Hales of spirituous liquors, may be applied to the conduct of some parish officers within the bills of mortality: he says, “Of all the
“ miseries and plagues incident to human life, none are more
“ effectually destructive than this, not even those three sore
“ judgments of *war*, *pestilence*, and *famine*, which after having
“ raged for some time cease. But this *evil spirit* is an unre-
“ lenting merciless enemy, that threatens destruction from ge-
“ neration to generation.”

The Doctor adds the following note, “The terrible destruc-
“ tion of human lives appears from the following accounts:

In the year 1680, the christenings, within the bills of
 mortality, were no more than — 12747
 From which number in 1700 they arose to — 14639
 And more remarkably in the year 1712 (notwithstand-
 ing Queen Anne's *long war*) they were advanced to 15660
 From that time they continually increased till the year
 1724, when they amounted to no less than — 19370
 But from that year to this (1750) they have decreased to 14320
 So that the year 1750 produced *fewer* christenings than the
 year 1700.

The children likewise that *are born*, come into the world with
 such *bad constitutions*, that being sickly and feeble, they die in
 prodigious numbers under *five* years old. And many children,
 instead of being nourished by wholesome food, are soon con-
 sumed by the inflammatory spirits which must necessarily de-
 stroy a fabric so very slight and tender."

10. The same may be said of *parish workhouses*, so far as the
 evil goes. To draw a parallel, one may with great truth assert,
 that many children born of poor *idle* or *unfortunate* parents, tho'
 they should have the best constitutions, yet die in great numbers
 under 5 years old; for tho' the humanity of the legislature has
 been extended to them by a particular act of parliament, requir-
 ing a register and authentic account, how the officers proceed
 with them, yet some of these officers regard little more than
 the *form*, and *this* very imperfectly. Many children instead
 of being nourished with care, by the fostering hand or breast of
 a wholesome country nurse, are thrust into the impure air of a
 workhouse, into the hands of some careless, worthless young
 female, or decrepid old woman, and inevitably lost for want of
 such

such means as the God of nature, *their* father as well as *ours*, has appointed for *their* preservation

11. It is hard to say, how many lives these cities have lost, or how many they yet lose annually, by the poverty, filth, and vice of parents, which no public institutions in this land of freedom can save; and tho' we live on as fine a spot as any the three kingdoms can boast of, yet by being closely built, and many living in confined places, and many too much congregated, joined to the sulphureous air created by so vast a number of coal fires, we must not be surprized, that so great a proportion as 20232 in 43101, or near 47 per cent. die under 2 years of age: this appears by an account now before me of 1756, 1757, and 1758. At these times the Foundling Hospital was open for an indiscriminate reception; consequently the mortality there not being comprehended in the bills of mortality, rendered those bills so much the lighter.

12. The calamities of human life, and the customs of mankind, keep a pretty equal pace, and accordingly we find, that

There were christened in 1764	—	—	16374
Died under 2 years of age	—	—	8073
Which is $49\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.			

Remains	—	—	8301
Died more between 2 and 5 years old	—	—	1875
Which on 16374, is $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and on 8301 is $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.			

Such is the mortality within the bills of mortality; but this is happily no rule to judge of any other part of these kingdoms.

In the same year 1764, were buried in all	—	23230
Which are more than the christenings, by	—	6856
And more than the usual computation of loss, by	—	1000
In 1756 we find	—	—
1757	—	—
1758	—	—
Which upon a medium is	—	—

	Christenings	Burials	Decrease
In 1756 we find	14839	20872	6033
1757	14053	21313	7260
1758	14209	17576	* 3367
Which upon a medium is	—	—	5553

This happened during the Foundling Hospital being open, and during the absence of great numbers of people in war. Some years are peculiarly healthy, and in some the small-pox sweeps off greater numbers, so that a considerable part of the great diminution of the decrease in 1758, may be owing to the last cause, viz.

In 1756 died of the small-pox	—	—	1608
1757	—	—	3296
1758	—	—	* 1273
1765	—	—	2498

I do not mean to pursue the clue of the general mortality any further: the greater it is, the more we stand in need of vigilance to preserve that part of the inhabitants, who are most friendless and forsaken.

13. With regard to the *parish infant poor*, it can hardly be expected, that the best regulated parishes will preserve a greater proportion than 47 per cent. which is the general account. But the poor, who are our present object, exhibit a much more melancholy proportion.

Let

14. Let us do justice where we can, and particularly to *parish officers* who do their duty; and take the power out of the hands of those who neglect it, by the utmost exertion of legal authority. Let the subject be ever so poor, humanity and religion do not therefore change their nature; the legislative authority remains the same; and we ought no more to suffer a child to die for want of the *common necessaries* of life, tho' he is born to labor, than one who is the heir to a dukedom. The extinction of those who labor, would be more fatal to the community than if the number of the highest ranks of the people were reduced.

15. Those who are idle, and not employed in something good, are a *burthen*; and those who are wicked, a *bane* to society, whatever their condition be: and the more irreligious the more ungovernable.—In the mean time it seems as if the richer we grow, be our riches *real* or a great part *imaginary*, the more profligate the poor become; and that where luxury and expence most abound, there the poor soonest lose that simplicity of manners and fear of God, which the rich seem to be but ill inclined to teach, unless *they* are under circumstances of *affliction*.

With regard to the sobriety of the poor, the preservation of life, and the preservation of morals, go hand in hand: their *wickedness* is often the cause of their *mortality*.

16. Amidst our various follies and iniquities, we still aspire at the characteristic of humane; tho' it is evident, in certain instances, there is not a nation upon earth, which acts more savagely than ourselves. Those who can bellow out for liberty and property, and raise a tumult in a *good* cause, or a *bad* one, will be *heard*; but what can the infant do? the child not arrived to his reason, who hath no parent, or none but such as are

very

very poor, friendless or wicked; if the arm of humanity is not extended for the support of such in their infant state, they must find a cruel grave, almost as soon as they have seen the light.

17. As far as I can trace out the evil, there has been such devastation within the bills of mortality, for half a century past, that at a moderate computation 1000 or 1200 children have annually perished, under the direction of parish officers. I say under their direction, not that they ordered them to be *killed*; but that they *did not order* such means to be used, as are necessary to keep them *alive*. How will this stand recorded in our annals!

18. Never shall I forget the evidence given at Guild-Hall, upon occasion of a master of a workhouse of a large parish, who was challenged for forcing a child from the breast of the mother, and sending it to the Foundling Hospital. He alledged this in his defence, "We send all our children to the Foundling Hospital; we have not saved one alive for *fourteen years*. We have no place fit to preserve them in; the air is too confined."

When I witnessed to the appearance of the woman at the hospital, and reported that the child was dead, of which the mother had not been acquainted, she shrieked, and fell down as dead, exhibiting to the court a scene of maternal tenderness, which at once shocked and delighted the spectators.

It is to be observed that the hospital had not then been open much above *two* years of the *fourteen*, and notwithstanding the large sums then raised on the poor's rates, no provision was made by parishes for sending a single infant into the country to be nursed.

19. Of the same nature was another parish, some years before the Foundling Hospital was opened, wherein it appeared, that of 54 children born, and taken into their workhouse, not one out-lived the year in which it was born or taken in. This seemed to be so incredible, that I went to the workhouse to enquire into the fact, and found it true. The workhouse was airy and well situated; but *such was their nursing!*

The opening the hospital for an indiscriminate reception, afforded great relief to many such poor infants, but unhappily, as is well known, so many others were brought from the country, which ought not to have been brought, a great havoc of life was made, where there was very little or no mischief done before. Children were brought from places where they died at 13 and 14 in 100, under two years of age, to die at the rate of 60 or 70.

20. Tho' it may be difficult to extend our policy or humanity to every individual in distress, even within the bills of mortality, yet when we come to a whole parish, and see a public register appointed by *legislative* authority, wherein it appears that *parochial* authority hath superseded the *legislative*, by a gross neglect of the spirit of the *law*, inasmuch that many infants have died under circumstances, but a small remove from *violence*; if we do not nicely inspect into such a calamity, how can we ask of heaven, that *mercy* of which we stand in so much need ourselves?

This is the light in which I see the subject before us, and I hope that when others examine into it, such measures will be pursued, be it only for *five* or *six* parishes, or an *hundred*, as the exigency of the case shall require, upon the truest principles of policy and humanity.

S E C T. II.

Heads of the Act for the keeping regular, uniform, and annual Registers, of all Parish Poor Infants under a certain Age, within the Bills of Mortality.

THIS act begins with a plain, simple preamble. To have recited all that had past, would have required a volume, or made as doleful a tale, as *Hofier's injured ghost*. It says only, "Whereas the keeping regular, uniform, and annual registers of all parish poor infants under four years of age, within the bills of mortality, may be a means of preserving the lives of such infants.

1. That the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of every parish within the bills of mortality, or some one or more of them, shall, on or before the first day of July, in the present year 1762, provide, or cause to be provided, at the expence of their respective parish, one book of royal paper; and the book belonging to such respective parish wherein there *is or shall be* any *workhouse, hospital, or other house or place provided for the maintenance of the poor*, shall in every page be ruled with distinct columns, and the title of each column shall be wrote or printed in such page, agreeable to the schedule hereunto annexed, marked (A).

2. And the book belonging to each respective parish wherein there is not, nor shall be, any such workhouse, hospital house, or place, shall in every page be ruled with distinct columns, and

the title of each column shall be wrote or printed in such page, agreeable to the schedule hereunto annexed, marked (B).

3. That the said churchwardens and overseers of the poor, or some one or more of them, shall enter, or cause to be entered, in the book belonging to their respective parish, and provided in pursuance of this act, all the infants under the age of *four years*, which, on the said first day of July, shall be in the workhouse, or workhouses, hospital or hospitals, or other house or houses, place or places, provided for the maintenance of the poor of each parish respectively, or under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, with the times when they were received, their names, age, and whatever description relates to them, as far as can be traced, being agreeable to the schedules annexed.

4. That from and after the said first day of July, all infants under the age of four years, who shall be brought to any workhouse, or hospital house, or place provided for the maintenance of the poor, or be under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor; in their respective parishes, or any of them, shall be, by the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, or some one or more of them, or by the direction or command of some one or more of them, entered regularly in the book aforesaid, with the times of their admittance, and all circumstances relating to them, agreeable to the titles and heads of the columns in the said schedules mentioned and set forth.

5. That the first annual register hereby intended and directed to be kept, shall commence on the said first day of July, and shall end on the thirty first day of December ensuing; and, after that time, the said annual register shall commence the first day

of January, and end the thirty first day of December following.

6. That after the expiration of each year, the names of all the infants under four years of age, then living and registered in the said annual registers, and not discharged from being under the care of the churchwardens or overseers of the poor, shall be transferred to the registers for the year ensuing, under their proper dates of reception, and under the description in which they stand in the preceding registers, previous to any further entry; so that each *annual register shall contain a full and distinct register of the whole number of infants under the age abovementioned*, under the care of the parish that at time, as well as the children received under the said age, in the current year, without being intermixed or blended with the deaths or discharges of any in the preceding years.

7. That the said annual registers, and every of them, shall be signed within thirty days after the expiration of each respective year, by the vestry, or any five of them, and by the churchwardens, overseers, vestry clerk, and master of the workhouse, for the time being; and where there is no vestry or vestry clerk, by the churchwardens, overseers, and master of the workhouse; and where there is no master of the workhouse, by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor.

8. That in case any infant is received into the workhouse, or under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, before the said infant is baptized, or known to be baptized, due care shall be taken to baptize the same within fourteen days after the reception of such infant, so that the christian and the true surname, if known, and, if not known, a surname

to

to be given by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, or any one of them, be regularly entered in the said book; and the name and surname of such infant shall also be registered in the parish-register of such parish: and in case of a difficulty of distinguishing children, some proper mark shall be affixed to the child's cloaths, or hung round his or her neck.

9. That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to such children whose parents receive money from the parish in aid of the maintenance and support of such children, they not being in the workhouse or other parish house.

10. That a copy of the said register wrote up, from time to time, shall, every month, be laid by the vestry clerk, or other person appointed for that purpose, before the respective vestries, or other parochial meetings assembled in vestry, that the same may be revised by them.

11. That the said copy of the register being completed at the end of the year, shall be deposited in the vestry-room, or other place of parochial meetings, to remain there for the use of the vestry-men, or other parochial meetings.

12. That the original register-book shall remain and be carefully preserved and kept with the rest of the parish-books in the hands of the parish-officers for the time being.

13. That all the respective parishes within the bills of mortality by the hand of their vestry-clerk, or, where there is no vestry-clerk, by the hands of the churchwardens, or one of them, shall, on or before the *fifteenth* day of February in every year, deliver fair copies of their respective registers of children under the age of four years, signed in manner hereby directed, into

the hands of the clerk of the master, wardens, and court of assistants of the company of parish-clerks, or such person as the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company, shall appoint, he returning a receipt for the same signed by himself.

14. That the said clerk, or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company, shall receive the said copies of registers, and cause the same to be bound in a book, collecting and ranging together the registers of the

97 parishes within the walls of the city of London,

17 parishes without the walls of the city of London,

23 parishes in Middlesex and Surry,

10 parishes in the city and liberty of Westminster,

in alphabetical order; and in this order he shall, on or before the 25th day of March in every year, make out, or cause to be made out, one general abstract of the same.

15. That the said registers of the respective parishes, together with the said general abstract, being bound in a book together, shall remain deposited in the hands and custody of the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish-clerks.

16. That the said clerk, or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish clerks, shall print, or cause to be printed, the said general abstract, and deliver six copies thereof to every vestry-clerk, or to one of the churchwardens, of all the respective parishes within the bills of mortality, for the use of the parishioners and parish officers.

17. That for and in consideration of the expence and trouble of receiving the said copies of registers, making an exact abstract thereof,

ANNUAL REGISTER of the PARISH POOR (under Four Years
of the PARISH of (where there is a Workhouse) according to the Act of

Name of the Child. If a Foundling, mark F If a Bastard - - - B If a Casualty - - - C If the same Child is taken a Second Time, mark the Second Entry of the Name - - - 2 If a Third Time - - 3 &c.	Age real or reputed. Years Y Months M Days D	If born in the Work house, when.	If not born in the Workhouse, when admitted.	Name of the Person by whom sent. If by an Officer, mark the Name O If by the Father F If by the Mother M	If Money be received with any Child, what Sum.	When died in the Workhouse.	When discharged from the Workhouse If nursed by the Mother, mark M	If Remov wha
---	---	--	--	---	--	-----------------------------------	--	-----------------

ANNUAL REGISTER of the PARISH POOR (under Four Years of Age) of the PARISH of (where there is not a Workhouse) according to the Act

Name of the Child. If a Foundling, mark F If a Bastard - - - B If a Casualty - - - C If the same Child taken in a Second Time, mark the Second Entry of the Name - - - 2 If a Third Time - - 3 &c.	Age real or reputed. Years Y Months M Days D	When received under the Care of the Parish. - - - If born of a Mother under the Care of the Parish, mark the Date.	Name of the Person by whom sent. If by an Officer of the Parish, mark the Name O If by the Father - - - F If by the Mother - - M	If Money be received with any Child, what Sum.	Name of the Person by whom the Child is received on the Parish Account.
---	---	--	--	---	--

And the Abstract formed since the Act, and digested for the Use of the Company of Parish C
the 17 without the Walls, the 20 in Middlesex

L O N D O N,

ABSTRACT of the ANNUAL REGISTERS of Parish Poor of and und

The Names of the Parishes, and where situated.	Born in the Work- house or Pa- rish houses	Receiv- ed into the Work- house or Pa- rish houses	Total born and receiv- ed.	Of whom were under these Ages. Three Months. Six Months. Nine Months. Twelve Months. Eighteen Months. Two Years. Three Years. Four Years	Of whom were, Foundlings. Illegitimate. Cataulties. Legitimate.	Num- ber with whom Mone- y was receiv- ed.	Money. Sum received with Children.	Mor-
N. B. Where there is a Work-house, it is marked *.								
							l. s. d.	l. s. d.

If Removed or Passed, to what Place.	When delivered from the Workhouse to the Father, Mother, or o- ther Person. If to the Father, mark F If to the Mother, - M If to any other Person, mention his or her Name.	Nurse's Name to whom delivered to be nursed. If a wet nurse, mark W If a dry Nurse - - - D If the Nurse dies, or is changed, write the Name of the new Nurse under the former.	Place where the Nurse lives.	Price of Nursing each Week.	Bounty to Nurses.	If died at Nurse, when.	If taken from Nurse, when. — If brought to the Workhouse, mark - - - W If delivered to the Mother, mark - M If to the Father - F If to any other Person, mention his or her Name.
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Module B)

Person by ld is re- e Parish	If Removed or Passed, to what Place.	Nurse's Name to whom delivered to be nursed. If a wet Nurse, - - W If a dry Nurse, - - D If the Nurse dies, or changed, write the Name of the new Nurse under the former. If nursed by the Mo- ther, - - - - M	Place where the Nurse lives.	Price of Nursing per Week.	Bounty to Nurses.	If died at Nurse, when.	When delivered to the Father, Mother, or other Person. If to the Father, mark F If to the Mother, - M If to any other Person, mention his or her Name.
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Y E A R

d under Four Years of Age, in the Parishes

[illegible]

A circular ink stamp from the British Museum. The words "BRITISH" and "MUSEUM" are curved along the top and bottom edges respectively. In the center, the date "4 MR 72" is stamped. There are small dots separating the words and the date.

thereof, binding the registers and abstracts in a book to remain as a depositary of the same, printing the general abstract, distributing the copies thereof, with other contingent expences relating to the same, each parish shall, by the hands of the vestry-clerk or churchwarden, pay into the hands of the clerk or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish clerks, the sum of fifteen shillings at the time the said copies of registers are delivered to him, he passing a receipt for the same.

18. That if any churchwarden, overseer of the poor, vestryman, clerk of the vestry, master of the workhouse, master or warden of such company of parish-clerks, or any clerk of such company, or any other person or persons, shall neglect his duty as directed in and by this act, such churchwarden, overseer of the poor, clerk of the vestry, or master of the workhouse, master or warden of such company of parish-clerks, or such clerk of such company, person or persons, shall, for every offence, forfeit and pay to the informer the sum of *forty shillings*; to be recovered before any one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, and to be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender, by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of such justice before whom the same shall be recovered, directed to any constable or other peace officer.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

REMARKS on the A C T.

1. **I** SHALL not forget when this Act was soliciting, that some persons of great note objected to it, as a thing unnecessary, presuming the duty was already done; and that either there were no such evils existing as the act supposed, or that it could not be a means to remedy them.—As to the *past*, I had already examined all the registers, such as they were, for ten years; and could not mistake as to the great point of neglect.—And as to what was *to come*, time only could demonstrate.

2. The ample silent instruction which these registers contain, might well give occasion to the common people to call the act, *An Act for keeping Children alive*: and it gave occasion in some parishes, to demand a higher price than formerly, with bastard children, tho' in fact nothing which can be reasonably demanded, can be adequate to their support.

3. As the principal objects are the children under 12 months old, the *Abstract* should be rendered more particular in this point, and is so far improvable, viz. at (a) may be inserted, *Of whom were under 12 months old*; and at (b) *Of whom were under 12 months old*.

4. By such parish-registers, as are kept with exactness, any child may be easily traced out. And if they are not so kept, I understand that every officer in the parish mentioned in the act, is subject to the penalty directed by the law, for every offence, which would amount to a considerable sum.

18. By

By the article 18, the penalties clearly extend to church-wardens, overseers, vestrymen, clerks of vestries, and masters of workhouses; and as the minister generally makes one of the vestry, it behoves him more particularly to see that justice be done to these poor infants. It was presumed, that the humanity of the clergy would induce them to lend a tender eye, and see what is passing, that there may not be any departure from the clear sense and commandment of the act, as well-knowing that the cries of such poor infants cannot easily reach the lofty domes or palaces of Lords or Gentlemen, either in their private or legislative capacities. They must be informed, before they can redress; nor ought we to expect miracles, but a decent regard to humanity.

The 6th article provides that *each register shall contain a full and distinct register of the whole number of infants under four years old.*

It ought therefore to be clearly expressed as a *title* at the head of each division in the register, though the same sheet should contain the whole, viz. *Children transferred from the year to the year*, expressing the date, so that each register contain at least *four distinctions of years*; and the *abstract* made by the company of parish-clerks, to correspond with those distinctions, otherwise it is laborious to trace out the real state of things. This may create some additional trouble to the parish-clerks, for which they are paid, but none to the respective parishes.

Some of the *registers* now mention the *years* in the column, with a *needless* repetition of them. The *title* above-mentioned would answer the purpose more distinctly.

Some of the registers make no distinction of one year's receipt from another, and consequently the children appear to be all of the same year; and as if no transfer had been made.

2. In the general view of things, I now consider the abstract of 1765 as of so many children received in that year, making however such distinctions as hereafter mentioned.

Upon the face of the abstract of 1764, there appears to have been living, transferrable to 1765,

	In the Work-house and Parish Houses.	In the Country.
In St. Ann's Soho - - - - -	14	6
St. George's Hanover-square - - - - -	26	14
St. James's Westminster - - - - -	10	9
St. John and St. Margaret's - - - - -	26	8
St. Martin's in the Fields - - - - -	6	28
St. Clement's - - - - -	1	
St. Mary's le Strand - - - - -	1	
St. Paul's Covent Garden - - - - -	0	2
The Precinct of the Savoy - - - - -	0	0
In the 10 Parishes in Westminster - - - - -	84	67
97 Dittos within the Walls - - - - -	58	6
17 Dittos without the Walls - - - - -	119	1
23 Dittos in Middlesex and Surry - - - - -	242	3
In all	503	77

So that these 503 and 77, in the several registers of 1765, ought to stand quite distinct as so many transferred from 1762, so many from 1763, so many from 1764: whereas there doth not appear distinguished, by any date of year, near this number; consequently it becomes necessary to trace the children *by name*, to see if the identical ones are transferred, or dropt in

in the gulph of oblivion. This ought by no means to be the task of the enquirer. However, if all things were fair, and as they should be, in the great point of mortality, we might wink at some little inaccuracies.

3. Next year I hope we shall be better able to trace every one from the birth or reception, to a joyful scene of health and vigor in the pure air of some country village.—In the mean time, I hope the *vestry clerks* and others will do themselves the justice to conform to the plain sense and meaning of the act, in the circumstance above mentioned.

4. If it is really necessary for any of the officers of this year 1766, to raise their parish rates, as being otherwise incapable to provide country air, or other necessary things for the preservation of these poor babes, it is their duty, in the sight of God and man, to do it.

5. Those officers who think only of *shrouds* and *graves*, are enemies to their country, and may plainly perceive themselves to be in some danger. The indulgence shewn on this principle, that the office is troublesome, and without pay, will not be extended to screen them from the penalties of the law, for the non-observance of the *form* of the act prescribed; much less any scandalous neglect of the *substantial* end and design of it. Every good man in parish office will oppose such neglect.

6. Taking the registers and abstract simply on the face of them, even upon a comparative view of the common *bills of mortality*; and also of the mortality of the *Foundling Hospital*, when it was open, it discovers a vast field for enquiry, and warms the heart with the tenderest impulse of humanity.

7. The 9th article excludes *such children, whose parents receive money from the parish, in aid of the maintenance and support of such children, as are assisted out of the workhouse or parish house.* How many of such may notwithstanding, be included, when the mother is nurse, and sent out of the house, I know not. If a mother has lain-in, in a workhouse, or being in distress brings her child thither, and then takes it away again, and some weekly allowance is given her; in this case, I apprehend, there is so far from any violation of the act, that it is agreeable to the design of it, as well as correspondent with the good policy and humanity of the parish officer.

It is to be presumed, that many parish officers are excited to such acts of humanity, to avoid the *risk* of children's lives, especially those whose eyes are opened to behold, that *poor-houses*, or *workhouses*, are in general *slaughter-houses* to infants. The fact is, many such officers now prefer the giving assistance to mothers at their own homes, when in distress: if this method subjects the officer in some cases to be imposed on, yet of the *two evils* it is by far the least.—It was thought, if it had been inserted in the *act*, to be included in the *register*, as if the infant were in the hands of the *officer* instead of the *mother's*, the parish might have appeared to save lives, which they had no other concern in, than by the assistance given the parent. I now think such assistance ought to be mentioned at the foot of the registers, that good parish officers may appear in the amiable light they are so justly entitled to; and receive the thanks of their fellow citizens, for the humane and honorable discharge of so essential a duty.

In

8. In the mean time, some officers imagined the design of the act was only to see *what money was paid with bastard children*. This might make one laugh; but alas! it was natural for those who were conscious of a gross abuse in this article, to entertain such a suspicion. "The wicked fly when no man pursueth."

9. With regard to the contempt which some affect to shew to the act, it was presumed that it would meet this fate, tho' the conditions of it are as gentle and perswasive, as its bent and design are humane. To have attempted much in the compulsive strain; might have been *unfair*, after so many ages of relaxation of discipline; but the time is come for a retrospection, at least for a year or two. Some of the principal registers, I am perswaded are exact, but it may be necessary that they be hereafter attested upon oath to the best of the knowledge and belief of those who sign to them.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Observations on the Register, and Abstract of the Register of the Infant Poor, with some comparative views with the Foundling Hospital.

THE abstract of the register of 1765, stands thus :

Born in workhouses and parish houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	463
Received under 3 months old	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	170
12 months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	362
								995
18 months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	221
2 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96
3 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	264
4 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	219
								1795
Of whom were								
Foundlings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	115
Illegitimate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	632
Casual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	228
Legitimate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	820
								1795

580 (as mentioned page 18.) being found to be living at the end of 1764, the real birth and receipt in 1765, is but 1215.

But in general, I will consider the whole 1795 as of the year 1765; the ages being distinguished, it will make no material difference.

1. I remark how short the full number of 995 under 12 months old is of 4000 received in one year by the F. H. which I apprehend should have been confined to the relief of such children as these, and in fact took-in none above 12 months old.

2. The notion which prevailed, that only *illegitimate* children were brought to that hospital, was erroneous. By this account, out of 1795 the number of 820 are *legitimate*, and 228 *casual*, of which last a great part may also be legitimate.

3. If 632 *illegitimate*, and 115 *Foundling* children, constitute a number sufficient whereon to establish a F. H. supposing a necessity of performing a duty which some parishes are so deficient in, the distinction is obvious; they should be brought from such parishes, so unable to preserve them. For tho' in some cases, *amours* may be best concealed, by a *secret* reception of infants; yet if such secrecy opens a door for numerous abuses, every one must look to his own affairs. We should then know what we were about.

4. If a F. H. were established for such Foundlings, what good would it answer, that may not be done as well *openly*? Tho' there will be always some parents who chuse to give up their children for ever, others should not be therefore *tempted* by custom to give up *theirs*. The difficulty that arises upon this, is, Can the parish officers be induced to do their duty? If they can, is it not best they should? In cases wherein they cannot do it, such humane gentlemen as the managing governors of the F. H. may do

it

it for them. On the other hand, the same good disposition may lead Lords and Gentlemen to take care of their own parishes, upon the foundation of the old laws, or *some new one*, as in the case of the best conducted parishes, where the first people in the land interest themselves. And may not a reasonable degree of zeal in a few persons in each parish, accomplish all that can be expected, appealing to parliament for relief, where numbers affect to dictate, if they commit any capital faults? No one body, *corporate* or not, can take proper care of all the infants in a kingdom: the idea is fantastic, and experience proves the absurdity of it.

5. It is very obvious that a great part of this kind of parish poor infants, as are now in question, were saved by the F. H. in 1756 to 1760: but because a design is *good* in the degree, shall we to run into the *extreme*, and make it *evil*?

I hope that vigorous efforts will be made to put this matter on its true foundation; and that we shall not wait till the old stock, of children is run off, but that the Governors of it will *offer their service*, in the most public manner, to relieve such parishes as are in real *present distress*, be they few or many. This will give them credit with Parliament.

7. From the number of foundlings being 115 (comprehending the remains of 1762, 1763, and 1764, though included in 1765) I conclude it is much less difficult to the human heart, and the dictates of *self-preservation*, to *drop* a child than to *kill* it. I conceive, that when murders are committed, it is to conceal shame, and practised at the first moments of *delivery*, not afterwards, when the world knows of it. Therefore the good which

which some so vehemently ascribed to the F. H. in this view, did not appear to me, granting its merit in many other respects.

8. As to the mortality of 1765, upon a comparative view, 141 were sent into the country to be nursed; of these were

Under 12 months old	-	-	-	-	74
Of whom died	-	-	-	-	32
which is per Cent.	-	-	-	-	48
From 12 months to 4 years old	-	-	-	-	67
Of these died	-	-	-	-	17
which, on 141, is per Cent.	-	-	-	-	12

9. This 48 per cent. is nearly the same number as were buried by the F. H.

10. These children, it is presumed, were born on the spot; many of the Foundlings were brought to the F. H. from a great distance.

11. These from their original stock must have been less the children of health, than those who were brought from the country to the F. H. And if such had not been brought, the mortality would probably have been 30 in 100 less, *i. e.* 18 per cent. instead of 48.

12. It must be observed also that what the parish officers call the *country* is within five miles of London; and that of 141 so sent, there are in this situation 120. It is probable a great improvement will be made in this article. Some of the most considerable parishes now send children into more distant places.

13. It is remarkable that a much greater proportion died of the children sent out to nurse, within this *small distance*, by the F. H. than of such as they sent into distant places, *i. e.* more

in proportion than the difference of strong or weakly children amounted to.

14. We may also observe that the F. H. had considerably the advantage of the parishes with regard to inspectors of nurses; but this also easily admits of improvement.

15. Some of these parishes meaning to preserve their children, pay as far as 3s. a week for the nursing, I suppose clothing included. The F. H. dropt their price in June 1756, from 3s. to 2s. 6d. clothing excluded, but adding to the nurse, whose foundling was alive 12 months after she received it, 10s.

16. The parishes find it difficult to get good and honest women as nurses for their hundreds at 3s. could it be expected the F. H. should find good ones for 4000 infants, year upon year, for any price, unless they were *dry Nurses*?

17. The parishes want nurses for 12 or 1400; the F. H. required nurses annually for *four thousand new children*.—Was this possible to be accomplished by *proper* wet nurses, at a time when all the nobility and gentry, and almost all people in England who have money to spend, give up their children to be nursed for hire?

18. Notwithstanding the fine airy situation of the F. H. in London, there was no safety even for 50 or 60 infants congregated only for a few days. Till they were sent forward into the country they were always in the utmost danger. How can any parish-officer imagine he can preserve infants in a *work-house* for a course of years?

S E C T. V.

*Particular Investigation of the Registers, and Abstract of Registers
of the Infant Parish Poor in 1764 and 1765.*

1. **I**LAY it down as a general position, that the greatest good fortune which can happen to a parish infant, falling into the hands of a workhouse-keeper, is to be kept in it no longer than the F. H. kept them here in London, *i. e.* as a transit into the country.

2. If the mother is there with her child, she should for the sake of it, remain no longer than to be *able to walk*, if not *to work*, otherwise the workhouse that sometimes *saves*, will in most cases *destroy*.

3. Some few workhouses are airy and ventilated; but in general the air is continually tainted. By congregating of infants they poison each other; and they perish by this means, as well as for want of the breast and proper nutriment.

4. From the *specimen* of parish officers *country nursing*, as already shewn, there seems to be a disposition in many to preserve these infants, so far as they are pleased to extend this plan, which is *new* to them. But it must be observed, that as yet, no more than 8 in 100 have been sent into the country as an experiment.

5. Some officers say they *can* preserve children in *town*, as well as in the *country*: how do they make this appear, if they do

not try the *country* nursing, and if it is a fact that they do not preserve them in town?

6. It requires some time to enter fully and entirely into the *mystery* of preserving the lives of infants; and before the art is learnt, the humane and intelligent *officer* is changed. This would not be so great a grievance, if masters of workhouses were better *chosen*; and so paid as to make it the interest of a man of sentiment, with a clerk under him, where a clerk is necessary, to do the duty with tenderness and circumspection: good looking after may accomplish this end.

7. We must consider the ages of children in a *distinct* view, to make such discoveries of the *town account* of them, as will truly describe the nature of the case. We shall then see, that however hurtful an indiscriminate reception of infants may be in a F. H. in this nation, such an institution, within the bills of mortality, paid for, and supported by the parishes for whose service it is intended, seems to be indispensably necessary.

The merit of the several parishes is so different, it would be absurd to run thro' the whole comparison; but we may take a view of some particulars, and a general comparative survey of the years 1764 and 1765, upon the face of the registers, of which, I presume, none are made *worse than the truth*.

1764.

Parishes.	Born, and received.	Of whom living at the end of the year.	Living per Cent.
97 within the Walls	123	64	52
17 without the Walls	367	120	32 $\frac{2}{3}$
25 Middlesex and Surry	735	245	33 $\frac{2}{3}$
10 Westminster - -	468	151	32 $\frac{1}{4}$
	1693		

Of the 97 parishes within the walls, I find

St. Stephen Coleman-street has	6
St. Olave Hart-street	8
St. Catharine Cree church	6
St. Martin Ludgate	5

Few others of the 97 have above one child, and 35 parishes have not one, so that it is easy to reconcile their superiority in preserving life.

The number removed and delivered is 507, or 30 per cent. on the whole 1693.

9. But to comprehend the good or evil of this account it is necessary to take a distinct view of the children under 12 months old, viz.

Parishes.	Born and received.	Dead.	Dead per cent.	Nursed in the Country.	Of whom dead in the country.	Dead per cent. in the country.
97 within the Walls -	57	24	42	8	1	12½
17 without the Walls	188	76	40½	2	1	50
25 Middlesex and Surry	414	188	45½	6	2	33½
10 Westminster - -	281	104	37	98	22	22
	940					

10. Here we discover that the inequality of the parishes, turns in favor of the 10 last, 5 or 6 per cent. on the *general birth* and receipt. This arises in a great measure from sending children into the *country*, and perhaps from their breathing a purer or *less poisonous* air in town. For upon those who are kept in town, and those sent into the country, there is a remarkable difference, viz.

	Dead per cent. in town.	Dead per Cent. in the country.
In the 10 parishes in Westminster	37	22
In Middlesex and Surry	45	33½

We

We also find that of 57 within the walls, have
 had the fortune to be nursed in the country - - 8
 In Middlesex and Surry, of 414, only - - - 6
 But the 10 parishes in Westminster, have had the
 honor of sending, of 281 - - - 98

It is from conveying infants into the country that we must
 hope for the restoration of parish humanity.

11. Let us now take a survey of the last year, in a compara-
 tive view, and try if we can discover any thing for the service of
 these poor infants.

1765.

Parishes.	Born and re- ceived.	Of whom living at the end of the year.	Living per Cent.
97 within the Walls	102	63	61 $\frac{1}{2}$
17 without the Walls	377	118	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
25 Middlesex and Surry	821	330	40
10 Westminster - - -	495	179	36
	1795		

12. This at first view discovers an advantage upon 1764; for
 in the 97, 25, and 10 divisions, as above, there is a propor-
 tion of near 6 per cent. in life gained: the ages in general are
 not much higher than in 1764.

The number removed and delivered is 470, or 26 per cent.
 which is also 4 per cent. fewer than the year 1764.

13. In this year there are no less than 55 parishes *within* the
 walls who have no children at all; from whence one may infer
 that they provide for the *mothers*, and leave them to take care
 of their own children; or that the parishes are so rich the
 parents provide for their own infants, without any parish aids;
 but I rather think the former to be true.

14. We

14. We shall still be deficient in forming any adequate idea of what is *better* or *worse*, till we take a view of infants under 12 months old, viz. in 1765, of whom there were 995.

Parishes.	Born and received.	Dead.	Dead per Cent.	Nursed in the country.	Of whom dead in the country.	Dead per cent. in the country.
97 within the Walls -	51	15	$29\frac{2}{3}$	—	—	—
17 without the Walls	196	85	$48\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	60
25 Middlesex and Surry	433	201	$46\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	40
10 Westminster - - -	315	143	$45\frac{1}{2}$	64	27	$42\frac{1}{2}$
	995					

15. Upon this it may be observed as follows :

In 1764 the 97 parishes *within* the walls, buried a proportion of - - - - - $54\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.

And they sent into the country to be nursed only 8 children.

In 1765, they sent none to the country, yet they

have taken such care, that the mortality is but $29\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.

At the same time the numbers under 12 months old agree so far, that in 1764 it is 57, and in 1765, 51.

This is a *glorious saving*, let it arise from whatever cause it may !

It is remarkable that in the 17 *without* the walls, they have buried in this proportion, viz.

In the country - - - - - 60 per cent.

In town only - - - - - $48\frac{1}{2}$

But the number of children being so small as 5, there can be no judgment formed, except it be from the same event having happened in 1764, the difference being 10 per cent. *against* the country nursing. From hence one may rationally infer one of these circumstances. This *country nursing* is in some places

less healthy than the houses they send them to in *town*—that in town they are kept *single*, and in the country *congregated*—or that they are in a dying condition when they are sent into the country.

16. In the general view of 1765, it may also be observed, that there were nursed in workhouses and parish houses, viz.

					dead.	per cent.
By mothers	-	-	-	-	613 - 250	40 $\frac{1}{2}$
By nurses in the same places	-	-	-	-	1138 - 336	29 $\frac{1}{2}$

What proportion in workhouses, and what in parish houses, and what kind of houses, and what ages the children were of, must be considered. There is much reason to conclude, that even the mother, *in* the bad air of a workhouse, cannot preserve her infant so well as the nurse *out* of it. But here is no ambiguity, for 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with regard to the age of infants under 12 months old, is much fewer than 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ of 2 or 3 years.

17. The common rate by the bills of mortality is 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. under 2 years, and but 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ between 2 and 5; consequently we must conclude, that the *mothers* suckling their own infants, and only 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dying under 12 months old, is so much *in favour* of the mothers, not *against* them.

We find even in the *country* nursing in 1765, in Westminster parishes 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dead. But were these to continue in the workhouse, they could not escape for twice 42 $\frac{1}{2}$, as I shall more particularly relate, when I come to display the works of some particular parishes—The parish must have the credit of the care taken of the mother, but she claims that of her child.

18. To take a farther view of the number of children under 12 months old, whereby to form the more just idea of what is passing

passing in the fields of infant blood, it is necessary to trace out, as well by the *abstracts* of the registers, as by the *registers* themselves, how many children, under the age of 12 months, were delivered or *discharged* to mothers and friends; in the same manner, as we have seen how many were *sent into the country* to be *nursed*; and how many are *dead*. If we consider how short a time they live in the workhouses, the number even of the *living*, under this age, in that *situation*, will appear as it were with their *winding sheets* in their hands; I mean in those parishes where such young children are not delivered either to their mothers or friends to be taken care of, nor sent into the country, nor yet given to sober women to be nursed in town.

Of 995 under 12 months old, I find dead, either in the mother's hands, or the nurser, discharged, sent into the country to nurse, and remaining alive as follows :

Under 3 months old, dead	- -	{ 241 or $24\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.
6 Dittos	- - - -	{ 80 — $8\frac{1}{4}$
9 Dittos	- - - -	{ 50 — 5
12 Dittos	- - - -	{ 41 — 4
Dead	- - - - -	412 41 $\frac{1}{4}$
Delivered and discharged to fathers, mothers, and friends,	- - -	256 — $25\frac{3}{4}$
Sent into the country to nurse	- -	141 — 14
So that of the 995 under 12 months old, (exclusive of the country nurser) there remains alive in town	- - -	186 — $18\frac{1}{4}$
		995

19. If we reckon the 186 on 598, (viz. the 412 and 186) it is 31 per cent. alive; but what a proportion of these shall we compute will live 6 months longer? If we judge of the future year by the past, not 10 per cent. will survive 1766.

20. This makes it evident that the disease of inhumanity towards infants still exists, and that the most pitiable part of the human species are yet in the utmost distress.

21. But on the other hand, the parishes which have sent their infants into the country to be nursed, exhibit a very different view, particularly St. Martin's in the Fields, whose register in this respect seems to figure highest. Teddington, where this parish sends several children, being a healthy spot, and the nurses there remarkably sober good women. The difference in the price of these and the nurses of St. George's Hanover-square, I apprehend, is, that the latter pays 3*s.* and the nurses find clothing; and the former 2*s.* 6*d.* and the parish finds clothing.

Allowing for such errors as all such examinations are subject to, the account stands thus:-

Parishes.	Sent into the country to nurse	Remain alive.	Under twelve months.	Remain alive under 12 months.	Rate per cent. alive under 12 months.	Rate per week nursing.
St. Ann Soho - - <i>At Highgate 7, St. Michael's Berks, 1, Fulham 2, Whetstone 1.</i>	11	7	6	4	66	2 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
St. George Hanover-square (a) - - - }	35	23	22	11	50	3 <i>s.</i> Cloaths included.
St. James Westminster <i>Battersea, Lambeth, and Islington. The two last places resemble London.</i>	11	2	4	1	25	2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> and 3 <i>s.</i>
St. John the Evangelist, and St. Margaret -	15	10	5	2	40	2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

(a) See the Note page 35, opposite.

Parishes.	Sent into the country to nurse	Remain alive.	Under twelve months.	Remain alive under 12 months.	Rate per cent. alive under 12 months.	Rate per week nursing.
St. Andrews & St. George the Martyr above Bars <i>Chiefly at Finchley.</i>	8	6	7	4	57	2s. 6d.
St. Martin in the Fields <i>Chiefly in Battersea, Teddington, Hammersmith, Chelsea, Brook-green, and Deptford.</i>	40	27	26	21	80½	2s. 6d.
St. Paul Covent Garden <i>At Twickenham.</i>	6	4	5	3	60	—
St. Bride's Fleet-street <i>At Edmonton. There were 10, of whom 2 discharged.</i>	8	7	1	1	100	—
St. Botolph without Aldgate - - - <i>Not found in the Register, supposed a mistake.</i>	3	2	—	—	66½	—
St. Botolph without Bishopsgate - - -	1	1	—	—	100	—
St. Peter Cornhill (of 4 years) - - -	1	1	—	—	100	—
St. Mary Aldermary - - -	1	1	—	—	100	—
St. Dionis - - -	1	1	—	—	100	—
	141	92	76	47		

(a) Places.	Sent to nurse.	Remaining alive.	Of whom under 12 months.	Remaining alive under 12 months.	Rate per cent. alive under 12 months.
Hammersmith - -	21	* 15	12	6	50
Hambleton - -	1	1	1	1	100
Wimbledon - -	1	1	1	1	100
Lambeth - - -	3	* 1	2	1	50
Isleworth - - -	3	2	1	—	—
Paddingwick - -	1	—	—	—	—
North End - - -	3	1	3	1	33½
Kilburn - - -	1	1	1	1	100
Edmonton - - -	1	1	1	1	100
	35	23	22	11	

* 3 of the *15 and the *1 are delivered discharged; so that in fact there are living in the hands of the parish-officers, of 31, 19 or 60 per cent. and

22. By this account we may perceive that the rate of mortality is full 1 in 3 in the first year, forming some idea of the greater or less healthiness of the several places near London, to which children are sent. It will certainly be an improvement of this plan, if the children are sent farther than *Lambeth, Battersea, Islington, Hammersmith, or Chelsea*; and this plan alone can regain the reputation of the parishes: this alone will stand the test of an examination; and all other attempts seem to be playing the fool with human life, and laughing over the groans of expiring infants.

23. Some parishes must be supposed more fortunate, some more careful, and some more judicious in their conduct than others: in every view, reason and common sense plead for the *country nursing*. But notwithstanding all that can be done for these children in the first 4 years of life, if the parish officer is taken with a fit of parsimony, and then brings the child back to the workhouse, he may near as well be taken with a fit of frenzy, and throw it into the Thames.—Experience teaches this; and if we have not yet melancholy lessons enough on this head, nothing but some strict legislative enquiry can open our eyes. And when all is done, if men of sentiment and leisure, want diligence and zeal, humanity or tenderness in behalf of *poor infants*, no *laws* can obtain the end in view.

and out of 22, under twelve months, 11, which is 50 per cent. And this rate per cent. on the few under twelve months old, sent to *Hammersmith, &c.* is as many as one would expect there, but short of *Hampshire or Oxfordshire*, where, if my memory fails me not, this parish sent their children in 1763, and why they now nurse them so near London, I cannot tell.—This being a *pattern parish* it will be matter of the greater sorrow, if such Lords and Gentlemen are in want of *proper inspectors* of nurses in the country: they will not endeavor to save money at the greater hazard of the *lives* of infants: nor can they fail in knowledge of the *value* of a life in a political or religious view.

24. We have seen by the bills of mortality (page 5.) that the common rate of deaths under 2 years old is $49\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. but from 2 to 5 years of age it is only $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

25. In the abstract of 1765, the children past 12 months old, are 800; and I find the account of them stands thus :

Age.	Number.	Of whom dead.	Dead per. cent. on 800.
$1\frac{1}{2}$ year	221	71	$8\frac{1}{4}$
2 years	96	30	$3\frac{6}{8}$
3 years	264	58	$7\frac{3}{8}$
4 years	219	22	$2\frac{6}{8}$
	800	181	$22\frac{1}{2}$

This, at the first view, might lead one to think that the deaths on 800 is but $22\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. more than in the bills of mortality. But when it is considered that 204 have been discharged (chiefly taken away by the mother at her breast) the remains of 800 is 596, on which 181 being dead are per cent. - - - - - $30\frac{1}{4}$

Whence it is apparent, that these parish deaths exceed the

bills of mortality on these elder children, per cent. - $7\frac{1}{2}$

If we allow the $\frac{1}{2}$ for the difference of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 years old,

compared with the ages of 2 to 5, the difference is - 7

But if we mean to investigate our subject entirely, we must examine the difference of one parish compared to another.

26. To redeem the reputation of parish officers, and give nurses an impression of a *real intention* to preserve children, it was hoped, the column in the register, "*Bounties paid to nurses*" "*as an encouragement to take all possible care of the children,*" would have produced some effect. It was intended to be of the nature

nature of a *premium*, and took its rise from a custom of the F. H. where, at the end of 12 months, 10s. was given to the nurse whose child was alive and well. This gratification being equal to a month's nursing, was some compensation for the *reduction* of the price, from 3s. to 2s. 6d. a week. How have the parish officers attended to this *tacit recommendation*, for there is next to nothing to be found in this column?

27. In the column, "*Money received with children*," there is 1061l. 19s. 6d. upon 632 illegitimate children, which reckoned upon an average is about 33 shillings and 7 pence each. The common price is 5l. and sometimes 10l. is given: the number who gave money is 152, which amounts to 6l. 19s. 8d. each, a sum so inadequate to the support of a child, that the officers of one considerable parish, which I could mention, have usually consumed or divided three quarters of such receipts in *expences of receiving*; exhibiting so shameful an account of parish charges or expenditure of this money of the poor, as almost reflects disgrace on the very name of a *parish officer*; tho' a *good parish officer* is one of the most honorable in civil society.

5 An obligation to pay 5 or 6l. for a lawless *amour*, will not restrain the libertine part, even of the lower classes of the people; and I question if it ever brings about a marriage, in these cities. With respect to the children themselves, it might be more happy if no money was taken, unless it be paid into the hands of the treasurer of the parish for the use of the children. As to *sadling the spit*, as the parish feast used to be called, it will *not give a day of life* to the infant: on the contrary, the custom of giving small sums seems to have introduced an opinion, that a *parish child's* life is worth no more than 8 or 10 months purchase; and
that

that there is a chance of its being but so many days, and consequently occasion a speedy release from all expence, and the money may go in *good cheer*. Experience justifies this suspicion so far that the traffic of receiving money in some instances, seems to be but a small remove from the price of innocent blood.

An acquaintance of mine, once solicited a parish officer for 2s. a week for a servant during her lying-in, and nursing her child; alledging that a common parish nurse had at least that sum, if not 2s. 6d. "Yes," says the officer, "it is very true; but" "the young woman in question will most probably preserve" "her child, whereas in the hands of our nurses, after 5 or 6" "weeks we hear no more of them." This was a good reason with him, for giving more to the parish nurse than to another, whom he thought would preserve her child. The deduction from hence is too shocking to mention. It is plain, *Custom* will do any thing: and upon the same principle, such an officer will not be perswaded to send children into the country, nor to the F. H. to be preserved, if he is to pay for the nursing, tho' it be with the parish money. Sending them into the country is the way to re-establish the plan which our forefathers so judiciously devised for the relief and support of all the people under circumstances the most grievous to human nature.

S E C T. VI.

Remarks on the Registers of particular Parishes.

1. **H**AVING thus investigated the *abstract* in a general view, I will corroborate what I advance, by a more particular detail of the account of *some parishes*, which have done well, compared with others whose conduct seems to be so bad, that *mercy herself pleads* for the *forsaken and distressed infant*, and demands redress.

2. In this view I present one complete register of St. George's Middlesex, which happily doth not contain a great number.— It shews how defectively some of the registers are kept, compared with the *schedules*, as appointed by law ; and what havoc is created by some officers, in gross violation of the duties of humanity, as well as the spirit of the act of parliament.

REGISTER.

REGISTER of St. George's Middlesex.

Name of the Child.	Age.			When admitted into the Workhouse.	By whom sent.	When dyed in the Workhouse.	Days lived.
	Yrs.	M.	D.				
Thomas Bailey -	2			2 Jan.	Overseers.	9 Jan.	7
Mary Bill - - -		2		4	Churchw.	17 Feb.	43
Elizabeth Bill -	1	1		4	Ditto	19 Feb.	45
Lucy Coleman -		5		24	Overseers.	11 Mar.	47
Isaac Darling - -	2	3		5 Feb.	Churchw.	13 Mar.	38
Ann Bailey - -	2	9		16	Overseers.	29 Feb.	13
James Gloves - -	2	4		20	Ditto	14 Mar.	23
John St. George F	2			21	Ditto	28 Mar.	35
Sufannah Downes	2			4 Mar.	Ditto	15 Mar.	11
William Chope B		2		28	Ditto	14 Apr.	17
Mary Webb - -		8			Ditto		
Richard Yates - -		6		21 Nov.	Churchw. } Ditto } Ditto }		
William Yates - -	2			21		14 Dec.	24
Sufannah Yates --		4		21		21 Dec.	31
Jane Dryborough	3	9		22	Overseers.		
Elizabeth Hathaway	2			15 Dec.	Ditto		
Benjamin Tomkins	2	3		19	Ditto		
William Carns -	3	4		19	Ditto		
Peter Flidgard -	2			20	Churchw.		

Thomas Beal, Churchwarden.

This is a true and exact copy of the register of this parish of 1765, except the additional column of the days the children lived. If we consider the ages of these children, past the dangerous time of life, it is the more shocking picture of mortality; and the closer we approach it, the more ghastly it appears.

I have received exact information concerning the fortune of the *remaining* seven infants, which must be very interesting to those who think on the subject.

Mary Webb's mother has lain-in of another child in the workhouse since December last, and is happily escaped out with *both* her children.

Eliabeth Hathaway is also taken out by her mother, and preserved from the grave.

Peter Flidgard is likewise taken out alive.

These three have escaped, and so far we must give the parish credit. The two last were but a little while in the workhouse. The remainder are all dead since December last, viz.

		Years.		Months.
Jane Dryborough aged	-	3	-	9
Benjamin Tomkins	- - -	2	-	9
William Carns	- -	3	-	4
Richard Yates	- -	2		

4. It is true that *man hath but a short time to live, and is cut down like a flower*; but these poor infants were mowed like grass, for they had not so many *days* of life in the workhouse as the ordinary limitation of the *years* of man.

In the common course, not above $11\frac{1}{2}$ in a 100 of such should have dyed in a year; but, like a cruel eastern blast, the workhouse has finished their lives, *not one* being saved from the grave, except the three snatched from its gaping jaws by the mothers tender hand: nor could *these* have lived but by being watched and attended by the mothers, to plead for them with the *master* and managers of the workhouse.

5. There is *no wonder* in this, when it is considered, that these children were put into the hands of indigent, filthy, or decrepit women, three or four to one woman, and sometimes sleeping with them. The allowance of these women being scanty, they are tempted to take part of the bread and milk intended for the poor infants. The child cries for *food*, and the nurse beats it *because* it cries. Thus with *blows, starving, and putrid air*, with

the additions of *lice, itch, and filthiness*, he soon receives his *quietus*; our *humanity* and *religion* are violated; and the *State* is wounded in its *vital parts*.

6. It is morally impossible that infants can live under such circumstances. There are now in this workhouse 100 men, and about 20 women; here are 200 *Poor* sometimes crowded together. This renders such places inevitable death to infants; and it is *confessed*, without reserve, to be a *rare thing* for a child to be taken *out alive*, except it be in the hands of the mother.

7. In looking back into this workhouse account for the year 1764, I find 15 were received of these ages, *viz.*

8 under — 9 months.

1 — 1 year 6 months.

4 — 2 years.

2 — 3 years.

Of these dyed in that year 13, *viz.*

7 under — 9 months old.

1 — 2 years.

2 — 3 years.

3 were delivered to the mother.

2 remained alive in the workhouse :

Of these two there doth not appear to be any account whatsoever given.

8. I am farther to remark on this curious register, that *Tomkins* and *Carns* dyed of the *small-pox*, said to be brought in by a poor woman and her child. Workhouses seldom refuse objects, let the disease be what it will, if they are sent by two Justices of the Peace, one of them being of the Quorum. I

presume it is *very right* it should be so, and that many must be taken care of under all circumstances, *i. e.* at the expence of the parish; but it seems to be *very wrong*, and contrary to common sense, and the spirit and meaning of our Laws, that infectious distempers should be introduced into workhouses, where such numbers of all ages are congregated. On the contrary, every one becoming so diseased, should be removed from it in such manner as that the least mischief possible may be done.

9. As to poor *Dick Yates*, his brother William, and his sister Susan, these were a *soldier's* children; their father had probably stood the fury of powder, ball, and bayonet; but instead of preserving his sons, in order to supply his place, when time shall disable him, these poor boys died a miserable sacrifice to inhumanity and want of *police*.

10. This last circumstance makes it proper to mention that several humane gentlemen in the army, of the first rank, have now under consideration a plan for preventing soldiers children from falling a sacrifice to indigence or viciousness, or the rigors that women are frequently exposed to in their marches and change of place, with their husbands (a).

11. I now proceed to the examination of some other registers. One would wish to be employed in discovering the virtues of mankind, and to comment on the nobility of their nature: but it is one proof of nobleness to war with *petty tyranny* and *inhumanity*, and maintain the cause of innocence. We must seek the enemy wherever he is to be found, and think it glory, even if we fail in the attempt, to drive him out of his entrenchments.

(a) The States of the United Provinces, who understand how to calculate the value of a life, allow so much to a soldier towards the support of every child, supposing his pay will only support himself, which is the case with us.

12. I believe the greatest *sink* of mortality in *these kingdoms*, if not on the face of the *whole earth*, is the united parish-workhouse of St. Giles's in the Fields and St. George's Bloomsbury, tho' there are many opulent inhabitants in the parish.

Their REGISTER of 1765, stands thus:

Note, B. Bastard, C. Casual, P. Parishioner, F. Foundling; The blank years, months, and days, are children born in the workhouse.

Age.			Days in the work-house before death	Days living before discharged to mothers.	When received, being living at the end of the year.	Quality.	If nursed by mother m. if by nurses n.	Put out to nurse per week.
Y.	M.	D.						
1	2	—	28	—	—	P.	m.	
—	5	—	17	—	—	P.	m.	
—	2	—	—	140	—	P.	—	
2	—	—	46	—	—	C.	—	
1	—	—	—	—	13 Jan.	C.	—	
—	2	7	30	—	—	B.	m.	
—	—	—	14	—	—	B.	—	
—	6	—	—	—	15 Jan.	C.	—	
—	—	21	4	—	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	
—	2	14	51	—	—	B.	n.	
—	—	—	—	22	—	B.	m.	
—	—	—	—	40	—	C.	m.	
3	—	—	—	27	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	—	64	—	C.	m.	
3	—	—	11	—	—	C.	m.	
1	6	—	55	—	—	C.	n.	
2	3	—	157	—	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	13	—	—	B.	m.	
2	3	—	20	—	—	C.	m.	
1	2	—	—	1	—	P.	m.	
—	—	14	25	—	—	C.	m.	
—	—	21	12	—	—	B.	m.	
—	—	14	2	—	—	P.	m.	
2	—	—	2	—	—	C.	n.	
—	8	—	—	—	25 Feb.	B.	m.	1s. 6d.
2	—	—	—	—	26 Feb.	C.	—	
3	—	—	—	55	—	C.	—	
—	—	—	—	—	3 Mar.	C.	—	
—	7	—	70	—	—	C.	n.	
—	2	—	—	—	12 Mar.	—	m.	
—	—	14	7	—	—	F.	n.	
—	—	—	27	—	—	C.	m.	
2	14	—	—	4	—	—	—	
—	—	—	3	—	—	P.	m.	
—	—	—	—	24	—	C.	m.	

Age.			Days in the work-house before death	Days living before discharged to mothers.	When received, being living at the end of the year.	Quality.	If nursed by mother m. if by nurses n.	Put out to nurse per week.
Y.	M.	D.						
—	—	—	—	24	—	P.	m.	—
2	7	—	—	—	23 Mar.	B.	—	25.
—	10	—	99	—	—	B.	n.	—
—	—	—	—	29	—	B.	m.	—
1	6	—	—	1	—	B.	—	—
—	7	—	—	28	—	B.	m.	—
—	—	14	—	15	—	C.	m.	—
—	7	—	—	55	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	44	—	C.	m.	—
1	5	—	—	—	3 May	P.	—	—
—	10	—	—	18	—	C.	m.	—
—	2	7	29	—	—	F.	n.	—
3	—	—	99	—	—	P.	m.	—
1	2	—	—	24	—	C.	—	—
—	2	14	39	—	—	F.	—	—
—	—	14	13	—	—	F.	n.	—
—	1	21	—	27	—	P.	—	—
—	—	—	—	63	—	B.	m.	—
3	—	—	—	27	—	C.	m.	—
—	—	—	2	—	—	C.	m.	—
3	—	—	—	29	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	21	12	—	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	47	—	C.	m.	—
—	3	—	34	—	—	F.	n.	—
—	3	14	—	16	—	C.	m.	—
2	—	—	—	21	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	48	—	B.	m.	—
—	6	—	—	10	—	B.	m.	—
—	7	—	16	—	—	B.	m.	—
—	1	14	20	—	—	P.	m.	—
2	—	—	—	—	18 June	P.	—	—
—	1	—	—	54	—	P.	m.	—
1	2	—	—	12	—	C.	m.	—
1	—	—	—	—	8 July	P.	—	—
1	1	—	23	—	—	B.	n.	—
—	5	—	—	4	—	B.	m.	—
1	—	—	—	28	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	20	—	C.	m.	—
—	1	14	14	—	—	P.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	17	—	C.	m.	—
3	—	—	—	—	9 Aug.	C.	m.	—
—	—	—	82	—	—	B.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	24	—	P.	m.	—
—	3	—	—	7	—	F.	m.	—
—	1	—	6	—	—	F.	n.	—
—	7	—	—	10	—	C.	m.	—
—	—	—	—	30	—	P.	m.	—
—	1	7	9	—	—	C.	m.	—
—	5	—	—	13	—	C.	m.	—

Age.			Days in the work-house before death	Days living before discharged to mothers.	When received, being living at the end of the year.	Quality.	If nursed by mother m. if by nurses n.	Put out to nurse at per week.
Y.	M.	D.						
1	—	—	—	2	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	10	—	—	B.	m.	
—	7	7	3	—	—	C.	m.	
3	—	—	—	9	—	F.	F.	
2	—	—	—	—	25 Sept.	B.	—	
—	—	—	1	—	—	B.	m.	
—	—	—	15	—	—	C.	m.	
1	—	—	—	49	—	B.	m.	
—	2	7	—	5	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	—	25	—	B.	m.	
1	—	—	41	—	—	B.	m.	
1	3	—	8	—	—	P.	m.	
—	4	—	—	1	—	F.	m.	
3	—	—	—	2	—	C.	m.	
1	—	—	9	—	—	C.	m.	
—	10	—	—	16	—	C.	m.	
—	1	—	1	—	—	B.	n.	
1	—	—	—	11	—	C.	m.	
—	—	—	—	—	25 Oct.	B.	—	
—	6	—	—	4	—	C.	m.	13.
—	6	—	—	—	25 Oct.	B.	—	
—	6	—	—	6	—	P.	m.	
2	—	—	—	6	—	P.	m.	
—	—	7	5	—	—	C.	m.	
—	1	14	16	—	—	F.	n.	
—	—	7	1	—	—	C.	m.	
—	—	7	9	—	—	F.	n.	
1	—	—	—	8	—	C.	m.	
3	—	—	—	1	—	B.	m.	
—	—	—	3	—	—	C.	m.	
1	2	—	13	—	—	C.	m.	
2	—	—	35	—	—	C.	m.	
—	7	—	5	—	—	C.	n.	
—	—	—	20	—	—	—	m.	
3	—	—	—	—	11 Dec.	P.	—	
—	—	—	—	—	16 Dec.	—	—	
1	8	—	—	4	—	—	—	
—	8	—	1	—	—	C.	m.	
—	—	14	—	—	23 Dec.	F.	—	
1	—	—	—	—	24	F.	—	
1	6	—	—	—	26	B.	—	
3	—	—	—	—	26	C.	—	
2	—	—	—	—	27	P.	—	
—	—	—	—	—	28	P.	—	
—	9	—	—	—	28	C.	—	
—	—	11	—	—	29	C.	—	
1	—	—	—	—	31	F.	—	
—	1	21	—	—	30	C.	—	

13. The young man who came before the Roman senate, being struck dumb with horror at the relation of his father's crimes, succeeded better with the venerable senators of Rome, than Cicero could have done with all his energetic powers of elocution. But in such a case as this, is it possible to resist the impulse of indignation?—To behold in the seat of empire, in the very heart of a great and opulent nation, renowned for humanity, purity of religion, and the supreme heights of literature, with every art of civilization: in such a place, to behold such an abode of complicated wretchedness and mortality! Under the name of a *charity-house*, to see a *slaughter-house*, to rob the necessitous unwary parent of his dearest, perhaps his only property! How can the story be related in future times? Is there *no* remedy? Can *no* law be contrived, nor any interposition be rendered effectual to make these *poor* cleanly, if not industrious, or at least to snatch infants out of the jaws of this *dirty* grave? Surely the thing is to be done, if we set about it; or where is our boasted humanity?—When St. Andrew's above the Bars, and St. George the Martyr (not far removed as to their mortality) obtain the act they are now soliciting, we may hope it will be a prelude to some reform of this shocking parish of St. Giles's. But to explain the register in a more comprehensive view, I remark as follows:

By the 2d. column it appears, that the time allotted to these poor mortals, put into that workhouse, from the birth to the age of four years, doth not generally, and upon a medium, exceed *forty days*. Were it not better they should die in the sweet air,

under the canopy of the heavens, and in this manner leave this earth, which affords them no better quarters.

By column 3d we learn, that those parents who venture to keep their children in the same infernal region, longer than *forty days* on a medium, have nothing to expect for them but a grave.

Column 4th exhibits 26 living children, but 12 of these had not been received, upon a medium, above *five days*, and consequently no credit can be given the parish on their account.

14. The whole account of this workhouse of 1765 stands thus:

Of 1762, 1763, and 1764, included in 1765, - 45 (a)

Born and received in 1765 - - - - - 133 (b)

178

Of whom dead (Col. 2d) after a short life of
about a month - - - - -

53 *

per Cent.
on 133. (b)

40

Discharged after a residence in the mother's

hands of near the same time (Col. 3d) - 54 -

40 $\frac{1}{2}$

Living, as far as appears, in the Workhouse, - 14 * -

10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ditto received a few days before the year

1765 expired (Col. 4th) - - - - - 12 -

9

133

Per Cent.
on 45. (a)

Dead of the former years account - - - - - 8 -

17 $\frac{1}{2}$

Discharged of Ditto - - - - - 8 -

17 $\frac{1}{2}$

At nurse of Ditto - - - - - 6 -

13 $\frac{1}{2}$

Living of Ditto, as far as appears by the re-

gifter of the *three* former years, on about 260 - 23 -

51 $\frac{1}{2}$

178

H

To

15. To calculate justly on the births and receipts of 1765, respecting the *inclination* or *ability* of the officers charged with this workhouse to preserve children, we must compute thus :

The *living* (as observed) may be called - - - 14*

Which are per cent. on the 53* dead and 14 living - 20⁶/₇
or 1 in 5; but how long they can be supposed to live, no other habitation being provided for them than the workhouse, is a proposition that requires no deep research.

16. As to the distinction of infants, in particular, under 12 months old, there are of these 81, of whom

		per cent.
Have been discharged to mothers, &c.	- 32	40
Are dead	- 39	48
Remain alive	- 10	12

Of which 10, *five* were brought in within five days of the end of the year. So that with propriety we cannot compute more than *five alive* on the number of 44, (*viz.* the 39 dead and 5 living exclusive of those discharged) which is 11¹/₄ per cent. *living*. And what fortune will these 11¹/₄ per cent. have better than the 39 who are gone to rest? In a word, the whole service done to the infants in this workhouse, is to preserve their parent, and such as the mother takes out in five or six weeks: as for the rest, it only gives them a-quicker passage to eternity.

17. Let us return to the eastern parts of the town, and examine some of *their* accounts, and see if we can extract any knowledge towards preserving the lives of infants.

St. Mary Whitechapel.

Age.			Days in the workhouse before died.	Days in work- house before discharged to mothers.	When born or received, liv- ing at the end of the year.	Quali- ty.	If nursed by mothers M. by nurse N.	Price.
Yrs.	Mo.	Da.						
4					24 May	B.	N. Howe.	2 s. 6 d.
4					Septemb.			
4					June	F.		
3					October	C.		
4								
4								
4								
4						F.		
3			Nov. 23			C.		
2	6		- - - -	December		C.		
2			Novemb.	Novemb.		C.		
3								
1	6					C.		
4								
2								
2								
	7							
	6					C.		

These children are all sent in by a parish-officer—all received by a nurse, whose name is Howe, and nursed at 2 s. 6 d. a week each. One may see what wonderful things *may* be done by the regular payment of 2 s. 6 d. per week for children. Tho' these are past the dangerous part of life, Nurse Howe, wherever she lives, for it is not said, is a notable woman, burying only 2 out of 18. But forasmuch as there are 7 without names, and inadvertently this account is not *signed*, I hope the officers will not be excused paying the fine, if they trespass a second time. In the mean while, if the account is *genuine*, though they have neglected the *form*, they have observed the *substance* so well as to

be entitled to public thanks, and the highest applause. I should think myself honored with their acquaintance. Their former account stands thus ;

	Children.	Dead.
1762	they had 5, aged, 1, 3 mon. 1, 3 years, 3, 4 yrs. — 1	
1763	———— they are all disposed of, or omitted, for the abstract is blank.	
1764	———— 6, and <i>all living</i> ; I presume make part of the register of 1765.	

This inclines one to believe, tho' they are so careless in the use of ink and paper, they understand what belongs to the duty of good citizens, and parish-officers.

18. St. Mary Newington's account stands thus :

Age.			When born or received. Born, b.	When dyed.	Quality.
Yrs.	M.	D.			
1	3				B.
			9 Sept. b.		B.
			5 Jan. b.		B.
	11				P.
			28 March b.		B.
			28 b.		C.
			7 Septem.		C.
3			7		C.
			1 Dec. b.	19 Dec.	B.
			1		B.

Here we see a little parish in the exterior parts of the town, acting with so much caution and humanity, and probably with some advantage in point of situation, that in 10 children (6 being newly born, and 1 of 11 months) only 1 is dead, and it

gives me the higher impression that with the B. of the 28th of March 10*l.* is paid. Messrs. *Joseph Fuller* and *Edward Ford*, churchwardens; Messrs. *James Pickering* and *Ralph Lowling*, overseers; and Mr. *Lindsey Bull*, vestry-clerk, I apprehend have acquitted themselves well, and they will complete their duty as the best of citizens, and members of the community, if they will tell us who nursed these children, and where; what they pay, and what rules their nurses are under. Such a glorious account cannot be merely fortuitous! They should take care, whilst they are such humane and fortunate friends to their country and mankind, not, at the same time, to violate the *laws* of their country by a neglect of what an *Act of Parliament* requires, according to the schedule annexed to it.—We do not usually chastise any man, in this country, if he is fortunate: but it should be remembered that the foundation of government is reverence for laws.

19. What reasons there are in the nature of things why St. Luke's Middlesex should not do as well as St. Mary Newington, or at least as St. Mary Whitechapel, I know not. If the parishioners are poor and unable to pay, let them beg relief, for *God's sake*, of private persons, or of the *Legislators* of their country; but not lose a life which they can save, and which belongs to the *public to save*. It is a shame to *national humanity*, that they should die thus; and the wildest impolicy that ever entered the heart of man, to look on and permit such devastation.

The account of St. Luke Middlesex stands thus:

Age.			When born, or received.	When died.	When dis- charged.	If nursed by mothers, m. if by nurfes, n.	What price per week for nursing.	Quality.
Y.	M.	D.						
—	11	4	—	23 Jan.	—	—	—	B.
—	—	—	31 Jan.	—	11 Mar.	m.	—	B.
—	2	14	—	19 Feb.	—	m.	—	—
1	6	—	—	6	—	m.	—	—
—	5	—	—	9	—	m.	—	B.
1	6	—	19 Feb.	16 May	—	m.	—	—
—	—	8	19 Feb.	27 Feb.	—	m.	—	—
—	—	15	9 Mar.	24 Mar.	—	m.	—	—
—	4	—	—	29 Mar.	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	15 Mar.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	1	—	24 Apr.	—	—	n.	— 6d.	B.
—	2	—	24 Apr.	—	—	n.	—	B.
—	5	—	29 Apr.	30 Sep.	—	n.	—	B.
1	9	—	8 May	3 Sep.	—	n.	— 6d.	B.
—	5	—	24 May	20 Aug.	—	n.	—	B.
—	—	21	15 May	—	—	m.	—	—
—	3	—	15 May	8 Aug.	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	31 May	—	—	m.	—	B.
—	1	—	21 May	—	22 May	—	—	—
1	2	—	1 June	19 June	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	25 June	8 July	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	25 June	8 July	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	2 Aug.	—	—	m.	—	—
2	3	—	5 Aug.	—	—	n.	—	—
2	8	—	15 Aug.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	15 Aug.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	1	—	26 Aug.	2 Sep.	—	m.	—	—
1	1	—	27 Aug.	2 Sep.	—	m.	—	—
—	—	20	15 Sep.	5 Oct.	—	m.	—	B.
—	—	13	17 Sep.	30 Sep.	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	9 Oct.	—	5 Nov.	m.	—	B.
—	6	—	22 Oct.	2 Nov.	—	n.	—	—
—	1	—	21 Nov.	—	—	n.	—	F.
2	—	—	6 Dec.	23 Dec.	—	m.	—	—
—	6	—	6 Dec.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	6	—	9 Dec. 10/ given	—	—	n.	6d.	—
1	—	14	9 Dec.	—	—	n.	6d.	B.
2	—	—	14 Dec.	—	—	n.	—	B.
1	6	—	18 Dec.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	—	—	18 Dec.	—	—	m.	—	—
2	—	—	23 Dec.	—	—	m.	—	—
—	6	—	23 Dec.	—	—	m.	—	—

Exclusive of the last month of December, here are 7 children above 12 months old, of whom 5, or $71\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are dead ;
and

and under 12 months (26, deducting 3 discharged remains) 23, of whom 15, or 65 per cent. are dead, after a *very short life*; and yet these are said to be all nursed by the *mothers*, except 7; and to 4 of these *six-pence* a week are paid. Even this *douceur* of the poor fraction of a penny per diem, seems to be of consequence, at least 3 of these 4 are living. I have been witness to a worse account; but if their children, upon a medium of eighteen months old, do not live above *forty* days in *this workhouse*, it is much to be feared, before the *second* year expires, the *whole* account will be ballanced by *mortality*. I am the more suspicious, from knowing the particulars of this house some years since, and seeing that there is not yet any provision made for country nursing, or indeed any beyond the workhouse, where there can be no dependence made on any thing but the grave. By the several abstracts they had, born and received,

				Of whom remained alive at the end of the respective years under 12 months old.				Alive above 12 months.			
In 1762	-	-	40	-	-	13	-	-	-	5	
1763	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	3	
1764	-	-	48	-	-	7	-	-	-	4	

Of the last 7 and 4 no transfer appears to have been made into 1765, and consequently upon the face of the account there is a manifest violation of the law: but the worst is, it leaves room for suspicion, that *all* their children of one year finish their course before the next year expires; and that they chuse to drop them into the *gulf of oblivion*, that the account may draw a curtain over a part of the *horrid scene*!

Let us now examine another account.

St. Mary's Rotherhithe stands thus :

Age.			Days in work-house before dyed.	Days in work-house before discharged.	When received, living at the end of the year.	Quality.	If notified by mothers m. if nurses n.	Price of nursing per week.
Yrs.	M.	D.	of 1764.				In workho. n.	d.
1	—	—	131	—	—	C.	n.	10 ¹ / ₂
2	—	—	193	—	—	C.	n.	10 ¹ / ₂
—	6	—	153	—	—	C.	n.	10 ¹ / ₂
—	—	21	3	—	—	C.	—	—
1	1	—	64	—	—	C.	m.	—
2	—	—	—	—	30 March	C.	n.	—
—	—	1	3	—	—	C.	—	—
—	—	1	83	—	—	B.	m.	—
—	8	—	—	—	8 April	C.	m.	—
—	10	—	26	—	—	C.	m.	—
—	—	1	—	—	15 June	B.	m.	—
—	1	—	—	—	11 July	B.	m.	—
—	—	12	7	—	—	B.	m.	—
1	8	—	—	—	13 August	B.	n.	—
1	4	—	—	—	15	C.	n.	—
2	—	—	—	—	7 Septem.	C.	m.	—
—	8	—	—	—	19	C.	m.	—
3	—	—	—	—	23	C.	n.	—
2	—	—	—	—	16 Novem.	C.	m.	—
3	—	—	—	—	26 Decem.	C.	n.	—

Upon a view of this account there is a clear transfer of 3. In the abstract of 1764 there is made living 4. Upon a comparison with St. George's Middlesex, it appears, that 10¹/₂ d. a week will keep children alive, even in a workhouse, above 100 days more than *no pay* at all. But, if it is meant to give them *fair play*, half a crown at least must be paid out of a workhouse. Here indeed are 11 alive out of 20, none being discharged; whereas St. George's Middlesex has not one alive of 19 of the same ages (*i. e.* in 15 months) except the discharged. Of these 20, 10 were under 12 months old, of whom 4, or 40 per cent. were alive. Of the living I also remark, that 4 are illegitimate, of whom 3 are under 12 months old.

19. As I have mentioned St. Andrew's above Bars, and St. George the Martyr, to the support of which *I contribute my mite*, I am the more authoris'd to plead for *their infant poor*. I hope my animadversions on their register of the *last year* will be of service to them in *this*; and that the difference will shine forth to the honor of the gentlemen who interest themselves.

St. Andrew's above Bars, and St. George the Martyr.

Quality.	1 Age.			2 When born or received.		3 Months & days before death in the workhouse		4 When charged to mothers or friends.	5 Where nursed.	6 At what price per week.	7 Reduced price after 10 July 1765.	8 Time before death in nurses hands.		
	Y.	M.	D.	1762	M.	D.						Y.	M.	D.
B.	2	10	2	26 Feb.					Holborn.	3s.	1s.	2		
B.	2	4		4 Sep.					Pear-tree court, Clerkenwell.	3s.		2	4	
B.	2	2		2 Nov.					Puddle Dock.	3s.	1s.			
B.	2	13	20	Dec.			5 Nov. 65		Finchley.	3s.	1s. 6d.			
				1763										
B.	1	10	8	10 Feb.					Red-lion street.	1s. 6d.	1s.			
B.	1	8	24	7 Sept.					Chancery-lane.	3s.	1s.			
B.	1	2	22	23 Nov.					Fulwood's rents.	2s. 6d.				
				1764										
P.	2	3	9	22 Feb.	13	8								
B.		9	8	24 Mar.					Queen-str. Bloomsb.	2s.				
B.	2		4	28					Finchley.	3s.	1s.			
B.	3	8	23	17 April					Gray's-inn lane.	1s. 6d.	1s.			
C.	1	1	24	8 May										
B.		13	12	20 June					Swain's lane.	3s.	2s. 6d.			
B.	1	4	11	5 Sept.					Finchley.	3s.	2s. 6d.			
B.		7	13	19					Baldwin's square.	3s.			2	22
B.		9	11	21	10	4								
P.	3	4	9	23			27 Mar. 65							
P.		5	6	26 Oct.			2 Jan. 65							
F.		2	18	5 Nov.	2	5								
B.		7	25	7					Finchley.	3s.	2s. 6d.			
P.		1	22	10			2 Aug. 65							
B.		1	19	13					Finchley.	3s.				1
P.	1	3	16	16	9	7								
F.		1	22	10 Dec.	1	21								
P.		3	20	20	2									

Quality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Age.	When born or received.	Months & days before death in the workhouse	When discharged to mothers or friends.	Where nursed.	At what price per week.	Reduced price after 10 July 1765.	Time before death in nurses hands.
	Y. M. D.	1764	M. D.					Y. M. D.
B.	— 2 1	14 Dec.	1 1	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 1 9	14	1 13	—	—	—	—	—
		1765						
B.	— 1 —	2 Jan.	— 15	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	3	1 12	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	6	— 10	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	6	— 14	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	8	— 13	—	—	—	—	—
P.	1 21	9	— 5	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	13	9 11	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 1 —	15	— —	—	Little Earl-street, Seven Dials.	2s. 6d.	—	—
F.	1 —	17	— 24	—	—	—	—	—
P.	— 8 —	17	2 9	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 2 7	19	— —	—	Prince's-street, Moorfields.	3s.	2s. 6d.	—
B.	— 9 —	19	1 6	—	—	—	—	—
F.	— 1 14	27	2 4	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	31	— 15	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	2 Feb.	1 14	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	6	— 10	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	7	— 9	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	11	— —	6 March	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	17	1 17	—	—	—	—	—
B.	1 2 —	20	— —	—	Orange-street.	2s. 6d.	—	—
B.	— 1 7	20	— 19	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	22	— 14	—	—	—	—	—
P.	3 — —	25	— 20	—	—	—	—	—
P.	2 6 —	25	— —	25 Feb.	—	—	—	—
P.	— 2 14	25	— —	25 Feb.	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	27	— —	—	Gray's-inn lane.	2s.	—	—
P.	3 6 —	1 Mar.	— —	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 2 —	2	— 14	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 5 —	2	— —	—	Finchley.	3s.	2s. 6d.	—
P.	— — —	3	— 12	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — 18	4	1 24	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 2 7	9	— 26	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 2 7	12	— 17	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— — —	12	— 10	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 11 —	13	— 4	—	—	—	—	—
F.	— 3 —	20	— 23	—	—	—	—	—
P.	— — —	23	— —	19 April	—	—	—	—
B.	— 11 —	23	— —	—	Hanwell.	2s. 6d.	—	—
B.	— 1 7	23	— —	—	Pear-lane.	3s.	2s. 6d.	—
B.	— 2 —	23	— —	—	Feather-court.	2s.	1s.	—
C.	— 9 16	25	— 23	—	—	—	—	—
B.	— 2 —	30	1 5	—	—	—	—	—

Quality.	1			2		3		4		5		6		7			8		
	Age.			When born or received.		Months & days before death in the workhouse		When discharged to mothers or friends.		Where nursed		At what price per week.		Reduced price after 10 July 1765.			Time before death in nurses hands.		
	Y.	M.	D.			M.	D.							Y.	M.	D.			
B.	2			30	Mar.	1	5												
B.	3				30					Brown's Wells.		3s.	2s. 6d.						
B.		6		1	Apr.		17												
B.		2		1			18												
C.	2			2															
F.		2		4			9												
B.				5			10												
B.		11		5						Ormond Yard.		3s.	2s. 6d.						
B.		1	7	6						Islington.		2s.						16	
B.				9			16												
B.			7	11			11												
P.	1	8		17		1	4												
F.		1	7	17			9												
B.			7	19				7 June											
B.			12	24			13												
B.				27				28 May											
C.				30				31											
B.		1	7	1	May		28												
P.		9		8			28												
B.			12	15		1	27												
P.				25		3	23												
B.	3	2	15	25			24												
B.		1	14	21	June	1	28												
B.				29				27 July											
B.					July			27											
P.	1	5		5				19											
B.				7		1	14												
B.				7		1	18												
B.		3		12						Brown's Wells.		2s. 6d.					3		
P.		7		12			3												
F.		1	4	18		1	24												
P.	2	1		19				11 Sept.											
P.		10		19				19 July											
P.	2	1	1	19															
P.	2	6		24		1	18												
B.			21	24			8												
C.	2			24		1	21												
F.			1	2	Aug.		1												
C.			1	3			9												
B.	3			7		1	9												
B.		1		8			13												
B.				8			12												
F.		1		11		1													
P.	1	6		16		4	6												
B.				17			12												
B.			3	3	Sep.		9												
B.		2	14	11		1	15												
B.		2		11						Hanwell.		2s. 6d.							

Quality.	1			2		3		4		5		6		7		8		
	Age.			When born or received.		Months & days before death in the workhouse.		When discharged to mothers and friends.		Where nursed.		At what price per week.		Reduced price after 10 July 1765.		Time before death in nurses hands.		
	Y.	M.	D.			M.	D.									Y.	M.	D.
C.	—	—	1	13	Sep.	—	—	8	Oct.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	2	—	20	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	6	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	Brown's Wells.	—	2s. 6d.	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	7	—	26	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	7	—	3	Oct.	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C.	—	1	3	3	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.	2	4	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.	1	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	1	—	—	5	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	7	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	Aldermanbury postern.	—	2s.	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	—	12	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	Finchley.	—	2s. 6d.	—	—	—	—	—	7
B.	—	6	—	8	Nov.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C.	—	—	—	8	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	1	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	5	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	2	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	Finchley.	—	2s. 6d.	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	1	1	2	Dec.	—	15	—	—	Tash-street.	—	2s.	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	2	8	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	—	14	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	7	—	14	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.	2	6	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

OBSERVATIONS on the foregoing.

	Alive.	Reduced as per register of 1765, to	Of whom dead in 1765.	Delivered in 1765.
In 1762. At the end of this year, tho' the abstract gives no account; this parish account being included in St. Andrew's-Holborn, -	—	4	2	1
In 1763. The remains alive, agreeable to the abstract, were - -	26	3	—	—
The other 23 must be either <i>dead</i> , or <i>delivered</i> , in the register of 1764, which is not before me.	—	—	—	—
In 1764. By the abstract, the remains are, - - - -	26	20	10	3
In 1765. By ditto, ditto, - -	37	—	—	—

Con-

Consequently we stand in debt to this parish for children nursed by them, and brought in of 3 to 4 years old, being alive in their hands at the end of 1765, viz.

Of 1762 - - 1.

1763 - - 3 of whom 2 are at nurse at the price of one shilling per week.

1764 - - 20 are transferred to 1765, of whom 10 are dead in 1765.—3 are at nurse in the country. 3 in town. 3 are discharged, and 1 in the workhouse.

Thus the remains of 1764, at the end of 1766, can be but 7, if they should have *all* the fortune to live!

In the year 1765 were *born* and *received* 114. How many of these are alive, and how long the dead ones lived, and where they died, and when others were delivered, appears by the detail I have given, the abstract of which detail is as follows:

From 1 to 3½ years old	Of whom nursed in workhouses or not appear to be sent elsewhere.	Dead.	Days medium of life.	Nursed by nurses in town.	Dead.	Nursed in the country.
24	17	10	32	4	1	—

From the birth to 12 months.	Of whom nursed in the workhouse.	Of whom dead.	Medium days of life.	Nursed by nurses in town.	Of whom dead.	Discharged.	Nursed in the country.	Of whom dead.
90	78	64	24½	9	1	11	6	2

Here we see, of 24 of 1 to 3½ years old, 17 nursed in the workhouse, of whom are dead 10, or per cent. 70¾

What astonishes more is, that these 10 did not live upon a medium above 32 days, *one excepted*, who

reached 4 months and 6 days : and of the 7 surviving, 2 had not been a month in the house.

Whereas we see by the force of 2 s. or 2 s. 6 d. a week in the *nurses hands, even in town*, there is dead of these but 4 on 23, which is per cent. but — — — 17½

In regard to the children under *twelve months old*, of 90 poor infants, in spite of experience and humanity, 78 are nursed in the *workhouse*, and of these are dead 64, or per cent. — — — 82
and they lived upon a medium 24 days and 8 hours, *only*—without the exception of more than *one*, who lived 9 months, 11 days.

At the same time, where there is the expence of 2 s. 2 s. 6 d. or 3 s. a week for nursing, there are dead upon 9, only 1, which is per cent. — — — 11½

If the above account is *true*, these are fortunate *nurses* and *favorite children*; for in the country 2 on 6 are dead, or per cent. — — — 33½

20. From the whole account it is evident that *custom* reconciles the most barbarous and savage practices, and that these may pass unnoticed in the most enlightened ages of religion.

21. This parish is now under consideration in parliament, not entirely on account of the *mortality* of children, which is not minutely known, but for other matters of oeconomical *police*. If it shall please heaven to put it under some good direction, we may hope, whether the parish rates be made *higher* or *lower*, whether adults eat bread of the finest flour, or some less milky white : whether they be fed with lumps of solid animal food, or good *messes* in which a proper quantity of meat is used :

in any case, I trust the humanity of the *governors* will extend to the *poor infants*, as a valuable but distressed part of the human species. I say *governors*, because I understand those who may direct mean to be called so; and 'tis probable the poor will shew them more respect under this name, than that of parish-officers.

Churchwardens and *Overseers* will still reserve their name and office, but not an exclusive authority in the conduct of the poor, as appointed by the *old law*. This defect in the poor's laws has often proved the bane of humanity. Indeed, where men of just and tender sentiments are wanting, whatever *name* they are under, there misery and distress will abound.

On the other hand, *select vestries* are considered as monopolizers of parochial authority, and tempted to abuse it. The just medium may be found in such persons as are totally disinterested, and capable of judging of the fitness of things, with candor and moderation, especially men of this class who have served in parish-offices. Such governors may restore such an equitable government as will content the reasonable part of mankind. As to the *poor adults*, it will not be easy to please the capricious, vicious, or lazy part of them; but judgment and candor, mixed with steadiness and mercy, cannot fail of obtaining all that ought to be expected in an undertaking of some difficulty in the execution.

S E C T.

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S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

Further Reasons for a Parliamentary Enquiry into the State of the Infant Poor within the Bills of Mortality.

1. **T**HE F. H. being shut in March 1760, I could not but weigh in my thoughts the *good* which had been done by it, though I had long deplored the evil. *This* was removed, but *that* was also taken away. It was easy to foresee that many of the parishes within the bills of mortality would revert to their old practices: I therefore determined to try to carry into execution, a design which I had formed in favor of the infant poor, sensible at the same time that the parishes in general would not heartily concur in any such measure. I was encouraged by the polite reception I met from the *Earl of Shaftesbury*, *Lord Ward*, the Rev. *Dr. Moss*, and other Lords and Gentlemen who interested themselves for the poor of the parish of *St. George's Hanover-square*. In my own parish of *St. Martin's in the Fields*, I also found several worthy and creditable tradesmen (a) two of them being my own relations composing

(a) Mr. Richard Townsend, Woollen Draper to his Majesty, and Thomas Balack, Esq; one of the justices for Middlesex, and Linen Draper to the King. To the last of whom, in Feb. 1762, I wrote the following letter:

DEAR SIR,

It is with great joy I hear, that your present churchwardens and overseers, intend to send all the infant poor born in your workhouse, or brought to it, into
the

ing part of the vestry ; I communicated my sentiments to them the more freely, and they gave me very high impressions of the

the country to be nursed. The general complaint against you is, that you have suffered overseers to take on themselves to dispose of infants arbitrarily as they please. But could it ever be conceived, that these officers, being *chosen by the parish*, under two justices of the peace (which parish your vestry represents) should *give laws to the parish*? And how it has entered the heart of any man, to recommend himself by parsimony, at the expence of the lives of his own species, when the *riches* of his country consists chiefly in the numbers of working poor ; is a circumstance which the most barbarous ages could never have any conception of.

Never surely was a more capital blunder committed in any civilized state, or any Christian country, than the doctrine of saving money to the parish, by suffering the infant poor to die ! The parish is a part of the community in the same manner, though in a greater degree, as a private family is part of it. A number of private families constitute a parish, and support their own poor, not the poor of other parishes ; and you will see by the calculation inclosed, which is thought to be a modest one, that every child who dies, instead of being a *saving*, creates a *loss*, or prevents a gain, to the community of 184*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

Sad experience for *half* a century, or a *whole* one as far as I know, has taught, that though it is certain destruction to infants to leave them to be nursed in your workhouses, or in places where numbers of adults are congregated, yet it has been continued, and the parishioners have been careless spectators.

To trust the lives of infants, as is generally done, in the hands of persons whose very situation in the workhouse, in general, implies their being either careless or indolent, sickly or insane, stupid, abandoned, or superannuated, is shocking to humanity and common policy.

I have attended the deaths of near ten thousand children, out of 15000, who have been received by order of parliament in the Foundling Hospital ; and I know too well how the effects of the vices of the common people, particularly in these great cities, extend to their offspring : but for the same reason that common prostitution creates sterility, the number of children born diseased, I apprehend is not near so large as some parish-officers would have it thought.

As to illegitimate children and foundlings, they are for the most part born of domestic servants, and begotten in the warmth of good ale, beef, and pudding :

the gentlemen who composed their vestry. I have related what a happy change the parish-officers have made in their parish,

the death of such infants is therefore the more capital reproach. Children who are in the medium between these two extremes, ought, on the great principles of policy and humanity, to have as fair a chance of life as the children of peers of the realm; and it would be so, but that policy and humanity have been long out of fashion in parish governments. The evil has been long complained of, and no remedy found but the Foundling Hospital, and this has proved as bad as the disease.

We are now endeavoring to restore things, to their primitive state, and by the blessings of heaven, repair the havoc of workhouses as well as of the field. The design of a regular uniform register will probably operate in this manner. It will be most truly honorable for the *King's parish* to take the lead, and the names of your vestry, and the present churchwardens and overseers, will deserve to be transmitted down to posterity with the highest commendations.

If you pursue the plan proposed, of giving good premiums to nurses who preserve the children you commit to their care (which was practiced with success by the Foundling Hospital) you will make it the interest and the honor of the nurses to save the children; or if you chuse good women as nurses, and pay them properly, you will turn the current of the bad opinion prevailing among the common people, namely, *that parish officers never intend that parish infants should live.*

In the mean while I recommend to your caution, to distinguish healthy children from diseased, especially such as may have any venereal taints. You have greatly the advantage of the Foundling Hospital, because you know the parents, and can judge from thence of the state of the child; but if the wife of the master of your workhouse, or any other woman having common sense, is taught to examine and make the distinction; or if you have a medical gentleman to examine your children when you send them to nurse, and distinguish the clean from the foul, or the suspected, you will then breed the two latter by hand, and not run any risk of hurting a nurse, which but very rarely happens. This will give your children a reputation among nurses, and you a title to examine also into the state of the health of nurses, that no child be hurt by any of *them*, which is by far the more probable case.

Moreover

rish, where the devastation of infants had been formerly full as great as in any other.

2. In 1761 I examined the registers of all the parishes, from 1750 to 1755 inclusive, and I found that the *deaths* and *discharges* nearly

Moreover when you cannot find good wet nurses, and are obliged to wean children, I am told, and I have seen some instances, that females are in less danger without the breast than males; but this I must refer to the learned, remembering that in the view of population, the female is the most valuable. The order of Nature is the breast. The common deviation from it by women giving their children up to others to be suckled, makes it almost impossible that all the children of the poor can be properly nourished; but it should ever be remembered, that the breast even for a month, a week, or a day, may frequently save a life. And upon the whole, the more you encourage women who are not abandoned, to suckle their own children, the better it will be.

If you mean to have your children bred to be strong, useful, and virtuous, do not bring them back to London from their nurses in the country. If you really mean to *preserve their lives*, never think them safe in a workhouse. Keep them where they are well; 'prentice them out there, and let London be recruited by strong people, who have imbibed good sentiments. In any case, remember that sweet air is the balm of life; and how these young persons can partake of it freely, when mixed with the filthy or diseased, the old or infirm, or with any great number of adults, in any place, much more in such rooms as workhouses afford, is above my comprehension. It is the fashion of the times to love a *crowd*, but the smaller the number you bring together, old or young, sick or well, you may be assured the more healthy they will be. I heartily wish you success, and am, with great truth,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and affectionate servant,

JONAS HANWAY.

nearly made up the whole history of the lives of the parish infant poor. And these *discharges* feldom meant more than a delivery to the mother, after a few days or weeks residence. To mention fourteen of the most considerable, their six years account abovementioned stands thus :

Parishes.	Born and received.	Discharged.	Dead.	Remain alive in 1755.
St. George Hanover-square <i>One of the best.</i>	288	115	137	36
St. Luke, Middlesex - - <i>The worst, no one escaping through the whole year.</i>	53	—	53	—
St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. George's Bloomsbury - <i>Very bad.</i>	415	228	169	18
St. Andrew's above Bars, and St. George the Martyr - <i>No better.</i>	284	57	222	5
St. Ann Westminster - - <i>Now much improved.</i>	66	30	28	8
St. Saviour's Southwark -	156	91	56	9
St. Paul's Shadwell - - -	32	11	12	9
St. Martin's in the Fields - <i>Now so much mended.</i>	312	147	158	7
St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster - - -	129	32	68	29
Lambeth - - -	76	53	23	—
Christ Church, Surry -	39	19	18	2
St. Giles without Cripplegate	209	131	62	16
St. Botolph without Aldgate	119	57	33	29
St. James Westminster -	161	103	58	—

3. These small remains being followed into the year 1756, it is probable we should find they had the same fate as their predecessors. Those who survived till June, in that year, were conveyed to the F. H. then open for an indiscriminate reception; in consequence of which, *one* life in *three* has been saved. Whether the health of the *country children*, under the disadvantage of being brought a journey, was more than counterbalanced by the diseases of the *town children*, (many of which were brought reeking from the womb) so as to form a judgment, if the living children are mostly of the town or country produce, is a matter that will remain undecided.

4. From this view of 6 years, it may be presumed, that for ages before the opening of the F. H. *for such general reception*, the parish officers within the bills of mortality, sported away the lives of many thousand children. They acknowledged that a very inconsiderable number of those born in workhouses, or brought to them in infancy, were ever reared, and that the pious and politic intention of our good forefathers, were in this instance defeated. In fact, the office of an elder of the parish, a father of the poor, *viz.* a church-warden, or overseer of the poor, with respect to the most helpless of mankind, was become a cruel exercise of authority, the officer acting as the wolf toward the lamb in the fable. If the child brought money, it was squandered, or deemed no object: if no money was brought, this was a *secret* reason why no expence should be made upon it; and in either case the child became a sacrifice.

5. I hope it will be agreeable to the wisdom of the legislature, to call for the *abstract* of the registers, in order to an enquiry

quity into *the registers themselves*, and in due time to examine into the hard fortune of this class of his majesty's subjects, upon the foundation of the act of parliament for the registers.

If the life of one subject is as sacred as that of another, and no life can be lost without solemn inquisition, surely the whole strength of legislation will interpose in defence of so many thousands of such innocent children as the course of years produces. And wherever there is an apparent want of knowledge or humanity, so that it is evident *no persuasive law* can operate, it may be presumed, that a *compulsive* obligation will take place; at the same time that a due attention is paid to the pecuniary abilities and situation of individuals, that whilst we are in pursuit of mercy to children, we may commit no act of cruelty to men. Retrospections in these cases, answer as lessons of instruction for future conduct: but beyond this, in such mutable bodies, it would be a vain enquiry.

6. I have in several places mentioned, how grossly some of the parish accounts deviate from the act for the *register*, as if the officers imagined no one would take any cognizance of their conduct. Whether all have committed their transactions in relation to these children to writing, even in their own books, is a question they can best answer.

7. These gentlemen should reflect, that whatever vulgar notions are entertained concerning *informations*, some breaches of laws proclaim themselves; and this is one of that kind. Moreover it will be *mercy* to the infant, not *malice* to them, which may induce any one to enter a legal, formal information, in a matter of so serious a nature.

After

After making good laws for the welfare of the community, the maintaining and preserving them from violation ought to be held next in rank and estimation. And when the *good* officer sees any one neglect his duty, he will be the first to cry for *mercy* on the infant. My motives as a *subject*, a *citizen*, or a *christian*, ought to be common; but I am also in a habit of thinking of such objects, from being conversant with them, and that my relation to them as a man, is stronger than any I bear to those who stand in no need of any help from me.

8. If these poor babes could tell how cruelly they have been treated, the very stones (as was once said on a more important occasion) would cry out against the offenders.—If we feel for *liberty*, are not the rights of children as *sacred* as any other? If we consider things in a religious view, is not man formed by his almighty creator for the preservation his own species: and are we not prompted to consult how best to preserve and support our fellow creatures? Do we not *depend* on the poor, as well as as they on us? Do not our reason and affections unite to this common end?—If a parish child may be suffered to perish for want of the necessaries of life, so may any other child. But the Almighty has promised his rewards, and threatened his punishments, for our neglect in the exercise of mercy and compassion: are these poor babes excluded the divine philanthropy? On the contrary, are we not perpetually reminded of the poor, as if the great parent of mankind, our common father, is their more immediate friend and protector.

Custom may render us more savage than those Indians who are said to offer up their children as sacrifices to their *deities*. They *kill* one now and then with a knife, or other instrument: is not

this less barbarous than *starving, over-laying, or lingering diseases*, contracted by sleeping with filthy, unhealthy persons, or breathing putrid air. -

Nor do we mean to wink at a custom less civilized than that of China. The *Pagan Chinese*, I am told, may legally drown their female children, but they seldom take any advantage of the law. Nature wars against it; but an English churchwarden or overseer of the poor, within the bills of mortality, under the sanction of his office, may suffer children to be starved to death, or poisoned with noxious air. Custom authorises the practise, and he may go on in it from generation to generation; he may *do* all he can to *undo* his country, and yet pass with impunity!

9. In a political view, it is universally assented to, that the number of the working people (who must be *poor*, or they would not work) constitute the strength, opulence, and capacity of defence in a nation.—In the same view, may we not consider a child as we do a *calf*, a *lamb*, or a *colt*? They being so much less noble animals, are sooner reared, and are of some use, particularly the two former, for their skins and flesh, soon after they have seen the light. But if they are kept for their proper benefit of milk, flesh, and skin, and the generous horse for his service, we compute that they will *repay* the charge. In the same manner, it is gross ignorance of the value of a human life, that makes us so careless about the infant parish poor.

10. Let us compute the value of a life in the mercantile state of profit and loss.

The charge of a parish, or any other poor child, I suppose to be in the 3 first years of life, at 3*s.* per week, clothing and all
2
included

	£.	s.	d.
included (in the country) - - - -	23	8	0
4 next years, ditto, at 2s. 6d. per week, -	26	0	0
6 next years (taking in the produce of his labor, if he is put in any train of life,) cannot be above 1s. per week, - - - -	15	12	0

I suppose that 2 in 5 may, with decent care, be reared; and that much the greatest mortality is in the first year, and the next 18 months. Putting this at a high computation of expence, to supply the mortality which may happen after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, we may reckon thus:

A child one whole year, at 3s. a week dead, -	7	16	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ a child (which makes it equal to 2 in 5 saved) on a medium of 4 years at 2s. 6d. dead -	13	0	0
	85	16	0

11. Now let us see if the *farmer* or *manufacturer*, the *baker*, *brewer*, *cook*, *butcher*, or *taylor*, or any trade essential to life, were to pay for the support of such child, boy or girl, so brought up to the age of 13,—what would he or she render him? We may compute the medium of life fit for labor, to be till 36 years of age. Some die more early; some become sickly, and some are stout till *fifty* or *three-score*. If we take the medium of life, for labor, to be 36 years, then there is 23 years service, after the age of 13. 23 Years at the computation of *nine-pence*, value of labor gained for both

	£.	s.	d.
sexes, (Sundays excepted) amounts to - -	269	19	3
Deduct the charge, as mentioned, of - -	85	16	0
And there is a gain of - - - -	184	3	3

L

If

If the experiment were tried, it is more than probable the master, if he hoarded the gains of a good servant for 23 years, would find himself at least so much in pocket. We are to compute, that 9 pence a day is nearly 11*l.* 15*s.* per ann. which on 4 millions of people (out of 7 millions supposed to be at work) makes - - - - - 47,000,000 0 0

And if we estimate the real expences of rich and poor, young and old, at 6*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

each, it comes to - - - - - 47,075,000 0 0

This in some measure supports the analogy of the computation. I reckon 7*l.* 16*s.* even for a parish child for the first dangerous year of life; but this is the *pay*, and part of the support of the nurse as well as the child; and if the labor of 23 years is set at its full value, so is the charge of childhood.

12. With respect to the conduct of the parish officers in question, an Englishman surely never meant to be *cruel*; it is against his nature, it is against his genius and turn of mind. The officers themselves, who thus transgress, *mean no harm*: they only *suffer* it by *the force of custom*. It is want of considering the value of a life, it is a mistake with regard to duty. They know there is *something to be saved*, but they mistake the object; they save the *money* when they should save the *life*. They may not comprehend, that if his majesty had twice as many subjects as he has, there would be the more riches in the country. Find employment of some kind or other, and there is no danger of our being over-run with numbers.—But in any case, I hope they will no longer think of saving the *money*,

and losing the *life*, more than they would *gain* the *world* and *lose* their *souls*. If the shedding of innocent blood is a sin of the blackest dye, whatever appears *indifferent*, *whether a child lives or not*, has something in it that is *horrible*. And if, by a cruel exaction of *unnecessary hardships*, we may destroy a man, more easily may we, by cruelly *with-holding* what is a *necessary provision*, destroy a *child*. I hope they will think of these things, and that in consequence of it, the choicest blessings will attend them.

13. Let what will be done by the F. H. in relief of the infant poor in distress, upon the principle of the proposal that follows, to form a just idea of what is passing in parishes in relation to young persons, (who are the most valuable of any taken into workhouses) the parish officers ought to account for children somewhere, for these cannot plead their own cause. My speculation regards children only, and I would follow them close from the womb, till they are placed out in the world; that justice may be done them.

14. To call for the abstracts of the registers may be enough for the *present*, but hereafter I should rejoice to hear a resolution of the H. of C. that each parish respectively, within the bills of mortality, shall annually give a distinct account, according to a form prescribed, of the name, time when born or received, age when placed out, to whom placed, where living, what trade, what money given, and other particulars, of every child the parish places out in the year. This might be a means of completing a work which the register leaves imperfect.

S E C T. VIII.

Proposal for sending all Children under four years old to the F.H. from such parishes as appear unable or unwilling to preserve them; the same to be done upon terms to be agreed.

1. **I**T is in vain to consider the value of any thing, if we must part with it before it is fit for use or ornament.—Upon the same principle, if there are parishes incapable of preserving the lives of children, from whatever cause it may arise, *they* ought in all reason to look out for some effectual assistance, and if *they* do not, those who are spectators, and mean to do good or prevent evil, must do it for them.

2. Considering what numbers of children there are, whose mothers are dead, or lost to them, in these great cities, or grown vicious and unfit to be trusted with their own children; or the child, being illegitimate, it may not in all cases be conveniently shewn to the world: If the mother is in distress for bread, or used to a better air than is found in a work-house, and therefore finds it next to death to be in a work-house, or is ashamed to throw herself, with her child, on charity: Considering also, how many *Foundlings* there are, whose mothers are totally concealed: In these various circumstances, if some provision is not made, more effectual than many parishes now provide, in the eye of humanity and religion, the land must weep, if it is not in too strong a sense *stained* with infant blood.

3. So far the matter rests on the same foundation as in the time of Capt. *Coram*, who seemed to have too diffuse an idea, or too little knowledge of his subject respecting our wants in these cities, to propose any effectual remedy for them.

In this general view, the superiority of the F. H. is apparent, inasmuch as it has preserved 1 in 3, to be 8, 9, and 10 years old, as we now see before our eyes. The calculation of the parish officer, as I have heard some of them say, *when he thinks of preserving any*, is but 1 in 5. The F. H. received by *thousands*, the parishes only by *hundreds*. If the F. H. were to receive by hundreds only, it is probable it might save 2 in 5, if not 1 in 2.

4. I will not make *any* complement at the expence of my veracity, tho' I should have been civilly treated by the F. H. but what appears to me to be *true*, and for the service of my country, *that* I mean to say, at least on *this* occasion. I am clear in opinion, that if the F. H. had continued to receive in such numbers as *four thousand* per annum, they would not have preserved 1 in 3, nor 1 in 4, nor known how to manage the thousands they might preserve. I do not suppose so much *virtue* to be exercised in behalf of children under any corporation government, or under a notion of their being deprived of parental connections, as will be sufficient to countervail the very origin of all government under the great Lord and Parent of mankind. The zeal and attention of a few, in a new scheme, may operate in a pleasing manner for a while, and answer the purpose of correcting some abuses; but in the general view of parental and filial connections, we may conclude with the poet;

“ God never made his works for man to mend.”

5. It

5. It is very demonstrable from the clearest facts, that the plan of an indiscriminate reception here, confounded the material distinction of *town* and *country*, with regard to the danger of infants lives. It encouraged the exercise of arbitrary power in general through the kingdom, in the most tender part of property, by the parish officer enticing women to part with their children, and frequently forcing them from the breast. Instead of promoting the great rule of retaliation, with regard to the lawless commerce of the sexes ; by the great facility of throwing children into this grand reservoir, it prevented marriage, and injured the morals of both *male* and *female*.

6. It is no less obvious on the other hand, and ought to be equally insisted on, that this hospital being properly restricted, it will be productive of the greatest good. It is generally our misfortune to go into *extremes*; and this has been the case in regard to the F. H. From doing *too much* we do *nothing*.

7. When it is considered, and duly examined, how unfit many of the parishes are to be trusted with the lives of infants, and what difficulties some find in the execution of their office, the utility of the F. H. will be apparent beyond all contradiction. There hath not yet been any such effectual legislative enquiry made, as is necessary to reform the abuses existing. A general inspection, and a fair and judicious report of the circumstances of each parish being made, such regulations may be prescribed by authority, as the exigency requires. Some parishes have been reformed, others which I have mentioned are now under reformation, and several may be easily put on a better footing. How far the most offending may be trusted to give a free consent, where *expence* is in question, and consequently to deliver a fair and

and open detail of their past and present situation, I must leave the world to determine.

8. I can only hope the H. of C. will be pleased to call for all the *abstracts* of the registers, if not the registers themselves, since June 1762, to December 1765 inclusive, now in the hands of the company of parish clerks; and in due time order an inspection to be made, that as the case may appear, such parishes as use workhouses and places unfit for infants to *live* in, may be obliged to recur to the F. H.

9. I also hope that whatever notions some of the governors of that hospital have entertained of their dignity in a corporate capacity, on the principles of a F. H. or literally agreeably to the charter for the *maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children*, they will do themselves the honor to stand forth as the protectors of the real distressed infant, whether he is a *foundling* or not. The intention of the act for the register may be improved, into the making every parish which is *able* to preserve infants a true F. H. for their own distressed children: but every one that is not able to do this, ought to be obliged to have recourse to the corporation of the F. H.

10. It is more easy for 147 parishes to take care of 60 or 80 children each, if in a course of years they have so many alive, than for an hospital to take care of tens of thousands. The scheme seems to be as absurd as the idea of *universal monarchy* formerly imputed to the extravagancy of French presumption. The common people's calling the register act, *An act for keeping children alive*, is a plain indication *they* understand it to be of that tendency; and considering that several parishes are

are already moved by humanity, to be attentive to the legislative authority in the preservation of the lives of children, others will improve on the *example*. This will appear not only on the face of the registers, but by their giving poor women a *shilling* or *eighteen pence*, or perchance *two shillings* a week for a certain time, to assist them in nursing their own children, which is by far the safest method in many cases.

11. As every thing in this country depends on fashion, it may in its turn become fashionable for parishes to preserve the lives of the infant poor within the bills of mortality. But it must be those who are humane, and can *command money* for the purpose.

12. If any parish *cannot*, or more properly *will not* use such endeavors to keep their children alive as reason and experience suggest to be necessary, and a greater proportion die than ought to go off the stage of life in the common course of nature, such parish ought surely to be obliged to apply to the F. H. and thank heaven there is such an institution. And if this were the case, the governors of that hospital would know what they were about. They would administer a *remedy* where they were sure of a *disease*, and act as friends to their country and mankind, without doing any mischief.

13. If the governors of the F. H. will enter into the spirit of such a plan, they must consider how to subdue the difficulties that may arise. I hope they will not conjure up any upon a suspicion of being less masters of the children, for then they may easily frustrate the purest and most consistent dictates of policy and humanity. Such a plan as this will do much better in this country than separating parents and children for ever.

It will be absurd to talk of their charter being intended for a quite different purpose, if that purpose cannot be made to answer. If the mode being changed, and new powers are necessary, let them be considered. But a charter which doth no good, or the proper use of it never *rightly* understood, is a *pompous nothing*.

I am persuaded the gentlemen who direct mean well, and I hope will maturely consider their meaning. It is better late than never. Something of this kind should have been done so long since as 1739, when Captain *Coram* succeeded in obtaining the charter in question. It might then have become a substantial object, and preserved at least *twenty or thirty thousand lives* which have been lost, without hurting the hair of one infant's head, who was not otherwise in greater danger.

14. If nothing *is* done in this way, or there should not appear to be any *necessity* for doing any thing in it; I question much if they can consistently find any other object wherein they may be employed, without mixing a great portion of evil with the good. And if the last proves to be the case, they may be contented with the good they intended; and when they have placed out their children now on hand, resign their office. But for my own part, *I see not how we can give up the F. H.* call it by what other name we please, without cutting down the only prop there is to prevent some hundreds of children yearly being buried in the ruins of humanity by several of the parishes in question.

15. I remember some of the leading members of the F. H. making light of the *register* in question, alledging, that parish-officers had no right to send children into the country to be nursed, without the *consent* of their parents; and that their parents were *perverse* and would not consent. As if a parent should say, " You

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" *shall*

“ *shall* take my child, but I will dictate to you how you shall nurse and preserve it, or how you shall *destroy* it.” The fact contradicts this notion. If the governors of the F. H. should think it necessary to be vested with authority to retain a child, the same powers they already possess may answer; at the worst, the cases wherein they will be called on to do what they may not approve, cannot be more than the parishes are now subject to; they will probably not be so many. We must not frighten ourselves with apprehensions of *evils*, and make our *fears* instrumental to the defeat of our own purposes: they will not be subject to many *capricious exactions*.

16. Let what will happen, it is evident that in a country where the poor are provided for, as with us, no distress can countenance a plan which *forcibly* tends to annihilate all parental tenderness and authority, all filial and fraternal love. This seems to be putting the ax to the root of free government and pure religion. In countries where *mere foundling* hospitals prevail, it is but a wretched traffic, imperfectly calculated to supply the want of a *poors rate*, and to provide for the vicious indulgences of the clergy to whom marriage is not permitted.

17. That some parents are worse than *no parents*, is indubitable; and so are some members of the community, in the vulgar phrase, not worth hanging; but this authorises no one to drag them to the gallows. The world, since the crime of *Adam*, never was without sore parts, and numberless blemishes, nor do I expect it ever will be; but there are some general rules by which we must mark out the road to virtue and happiness, both to individuals and a state; and the great land-mark from which we must take our departure, is parental love and filial duty.

18. Upon

18. Upon the whole, some of these parishes must be *compelled* to do one of these things; they must send their children to nurse in *a proper manner in the country*; or take other salutary and effectual measures, which I do not comprehend, for their preservation: or they must deliver them to the F. H.

The great evil arises from the want of attention in parishioners; and this I fear is too aptly set forth in a letter I have lately read (*a.*)

If

(*a*) Extract of a letter from *Honestus*, to the Gazetteer, the 21st March, who, after complaining of the intrigues of churchwardens to keep power in their hands, recommends to parishioners, as the only expedient, as follows;

“ 1. That the reputable house-keepers in general, of every parish, make it a point on the election day, to give an early and punctual attendance at church at the time appointed, or rather before, to converse together and look round among themselves, for a proper set of officers. Such a numerous and respectable appearance of disinterested gentlemen, will check and over-awe the junto, and prepare the way for a regular, calm, and fortunate election.

2. Mark well, which way the drunken interest points, (for they cannot hide themselves) and all unite to oppose an election which has been previously and clandestinely carried over your heads.

3. Let this opposition be general to all the officers of their proposing, that are known to herd with them. You must break the combination at once, by chusing a whole set of officers, whose hands are clean, and totally free of all connection with the cabal; without this all will be in vain. If you could chuse two or three angels to serve along with a remnant of the old sort, they cannot serve you, they might plague themselves, but the benefit arising to the public would be very imperceptible; and they must either run with the impure current, or be at open variance and enmity.

4. Above all things, guard against men who are known to be of arbitrary principles, who have shewn themselves eager to *dragoon parishioners into pernicious measures, by the terrors of the law, rather than consult the body of parishioners*; the consequences of chusing *them* must be lasting and fatal.

If, notwithstanding the great tenderness of the legislature, in making a law expressly for the purpose; and pointing out by a schedule, or form of a register, what was expected to be done, they regard it so little, as after *three and a half* years, to make a proper provision in the country only for 74 in 995, under 12 months old; and of 800 still in imminent danger, for a yet smaller proportion; what are we to expect hereafter of those who are the most deficient?

19. It is obvious if this design takes place, the parishes sending their children to the F. H. must pay for their nursing to the time of their death, if they die, or till they are returned to *parents or friends*, or placed out. If there is any parish in these vast cities so miserably poor, in a comparative view,

as

5. Strive to chuse men of congruent principles, and liberal ways of thinking, who will glory in each others company to unite their joint efforts to serve the public.

6. If fortunate enough to make a delicate, judicious choice of men, whom you can confide in, apply to the gentlemen elected, to inform them, that the parish does not want their money, but stands in need of their service; that it is not meant as a trap to catch fines, but to engage men of honor and ability in the service of the public.

7th, and lastly, Though I recommend a spirited, vigorous opposition to the pre-concerted measures of an over-bearing party, yet I would equally recommend moderation, good humour, and a calm temper, as the surest means of compassing the desirable end abovementioned."—He then goes on;

"As I may not, probably, have leisure to address the public on this subject before the critical day be over, which will determine the fate of parishes for the ensuing year, I will conclude with my hearty and sincere wishes for success to all honest intentions, and laudable endeavors, that all things may be done decently and in order, and for the best purposes of promoting peace and tranquility on the most sure and permanent foundation,—truth, honesty, virtue, and public spirit."

as to be unable to levy a poor's rate adequate to this want, they will of course plead their *inability to send the children to the F. H. to pay for their nursing*. If this should tempt them to reject any distressed infant whom they ought to receive, or receive them *in order* that they may *die* in their hands, which I am sorry to think is no extravagant supposition; if there are such parishes, the F. H. might accept so much the smaller weekly allowance, and supply the defects by their own little funds; shewing the case to the world, and trusting providence, in hopes the benevolence which such a humane conduct would naturally call forth, would engage the attention of the pious and munificent. If this failed, collections might be made, by authority, from the richer parishes to supply the poorer. There are many resources which necessity may point out. Whatever *means* reason and experience suggest, the *end* ought to be pursued. In the mean while, this must be apparent as the sun in his meridian glory; the F. H. would be no longer an object of jealousy, disgust, or indignation, but of love, approbation and applause. If it did not appear as a *deity* with *præternatural* power to raise children from the grave, it would be vested with the office of a *guardian angel*, to snatch them out of the jaws of it.

Thus the hospital might produce these children to the world, as so many living monuments of the most exalted policy, the tenderest humanity, and the purest religion, whilst it shined forth as an example to engage the *love* of every good parish officer, and the *fear* of those, whose conduct might remain in any respect doubtful.

20. I set forth in the title of this section, by supposing children might be sent from some parishes, as far as *four* years of age. If they are *orphans*, and have no immediate prospect of being taken out by any friend or parent, there seems to arise as strong reason against keeping *them* in such workhouses, *even at seven years old*, as do not preserve infants, as for the *infants* themselves. If the F. H. sends such children to proper inspectors in the country, not approving of keeping them in towns, and places them out early, so that their health and morals may be preserved, is it not giving a noble employment to the hospital, and saving subjects to the state? The charge in this case may be made lighter to the parishes, as the time the child will be at their expence will be shorter; and we may be sure parish officers will not bring such children wantonly. This article is *secondary* to the other of infants; but when one is digested, it may be hoped the other will be taken under consideration, so that no good, which *can* be done, may be omitted.

S E C T.

S E C T. IX.

Some Observations on the Employment, Clothing, Expence, Diet, Cleanliness, &c. necessary to the welfare of the Poor, particularly young Persons.

1. **T**HERE cannot be a principle more self-evident than this:—Where provision of all necessaries is provided, whether little or much work be done, there little work *will* be done. At the same time it should be considered how to make labor as pleasant, or to speak more to the heart, as little *irksome* as possible, and with a tender regard to the measure of a young person's strength of body or mind.

2. A judicious transition from the *book* to the *loom*, the *spade*, the *hoe*, the *knitting-needle*, &c. may render all pleasant, especially if the book, at the same time that it teaches to read and instruct, supplies entertainment to the fancy.

3. An early habit of the labors of the field, especially in the country, seems to be necessary. Tools for gardening being adapted to children's strength, it is amazing how easily they acquire a facility in the use of them, as they do in common life, to drive a cart, or a plough, or attend cattle.

4. But as it is their fortune to depend on the labor of their own hands, wherever there is an opportunity of teaching, they should learn the several duties of domestic life.

Whether a boy is intended for the sea or the field, *domestic* service, or *mechanic* arts, it is probable he will depend on his

own industry and skill to keep his person in a decent manner. Therefore what can be more useful to teach him, whilst he is young, than to mend his own clothes, (shoes excepted) and to knit his own stockings, that he may have an early sense of the benefits of industry. Being always whole and tight in his garments, and saving his money, he will hereafter teach his own children to follow his example. Thus acquiring a habit of cleanliness, and a decent respect for his own person, it will be the best preservative of his comfort, and an antidote against that vice and profligacy which predominates amongst common people, especially when they become dirty or ragged, as experience proves.

5. With regard to females, no less the care of God and men, it is so much their peculiar province to handle the needle, that they cannot be truly useful to themselves or others without it. Therefore they should be taught not only to *mend*, but to *make* their own cloathing; also to make and mend household linen, and to clean what else regards the kitchen and table. If any thin frock is necessary to wear, as a cover to their clothes, with a view to keep them clean, it ought to be provided. Such articles of oeconomical instruction are not generally attended to in the education of such poor children, tho' their bread so much depends on this kind of labor; and their ideas necessarily enlarge in proportion as they see the immediate usefulness of their own industry.

Nor need any instruction of this kind prevent the girls or boys *spinning*, or, when they are big enough, *weaving*; but this should be considered as a *secondary*, not a *primary*, consideration:

sideration: for if the children are not 'prenticed to spinners or weavers, their knowledge will hardly be of much use to them.

6. I have heard it remarked by some judicious persons, that a child is half the stature he ever will be of at three years of age: and I have observed that parish children are generally small. The same has also appeared to me in regard to the *foundlings*, though it is supposed that the most part of these have been *wet nursed*. People of small stature have not always the least strength or beauty; but we are naturally ambitious of being tall as well as comely. And indeed attention should be had to the *breed of men* in a nation, as to the breed of *horses, sheep, or cows*, as much as the nature of the thing, and the liberties of the people admit. Whatever tends to promote health in the pure air of a village, is much better for the animal as well as the rational part; than the more impure air and vicious customs of great cities, and large towns.

7. We perpetually complain of the dearth of the necessaries of life. As riches have increased, so has luxury, and with this an impatience of gratifications; so that from the landlord down to the laborer we prey on each other. However, it is not contradictory to recommend parsimony at the very moment we complain of so many infant poor being *starved*. We often go into extremes: we spend so much even for our *adults* in parish houses, that some cannot, or think they cannot spare any thing for infants; at least it is so in *many parishes* in these cities, and this is the cause of so hideous a mortality of their infants. But it also arises from the want of knowledge, and of the practice of making their money answer all necessary purposes.

8. With regard to an ample supply of animal food, as the nation has grown richer, I apprehend we have consumed more. We have happily increased the growth of corn, for *foreign* as well as *home* expence, but it may be feared we shall have the less pasture land. It must follow that we should have greater plenty of animal food, and enrich the state and individuals, and promote industry by our gain, if whilst we acquire a sufficiency of corn for exportation, we consume somewhat less bread and meat. What is great abundance in all other countries that I have seen, is great scarcity with us. The very poor think themselves wretched, and so do our domestic servants, if they do not *fill their bellies*, as it is vulgarly called; and they do *fill them*, and consume more solid food than they need, and consequently create a larger expence than is necessary.

9. The remedy of this evil seems to depend much on the simple method of preparing diet, whereby both the animal and farinaceous substance may go farther. It is well known that an excellent dinner may be prepared for less than *two-pence* each, where 15 or 20 persons eat together, or where a part of a family is composed of women and children. The mess may even furnish three or four ounces of meat, not of the most expensive parts of an ox, a sheep, or a hog, but what is equally good. Meat, vegetables, and roots being properly boiled together, is the only secret by which the very water is converted into substantial aliment. This requires a little pepper and salt, and to be thickened with bread or oatmeal; the last I apprehend to be the best. But here we are also deficient: the oatmeal we use is not clean, and generally in a state of fermentation or putrefaction: we should introduce *kiln-dried clean oatmeal, such as*
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the King uses for the seamen, on which there is no loss: we might then be sure of strengthening our *mess*, and rendering it no less agreeable than comfortable and nourishing. Where *firing* is wanting, there more *cheese* may be consumed; otherwise I consider the *mess* above-mentioned as preferable to cheese or butter. A custom of this kind might also encourage so much gardening as is necessary to produce the vegetables and roots; and the landlord would find his account in allowing small spots of land to his cots or houses.

10. Milk is confessedly a happy part of diet, especially for young persons; and we enjoy a much greater abundance of it than the people who live in hotter or colder climates.

11. In general we also make our bread too white, which is another national expensive prejudice. And how shall she prepare the good dinner I have just mentioned, who lays out the two-pence in *tea* and *sugar*? Are not our very poor distressed by this extravagant expence, which has little to recommend it but that it brings in a large revenue, according to the *fancy* of the people: but surely the poor cannot in the same breath complain of *want*, if they will be so *stupidly negligent* of their own comfort and support.

12. I do not mean to abridge the poor of a reasonable quantity, but I believe they often times eat more than they need; especially those that sit still and doze away their time. It is a vulgar notion, that a young person cannot eat too much. I believe *they* often die of repletion, and more suddenly than adults; granting that all animals which are strong and live long, eat more in proportion to their bulk than others of the same species of more slender appetites; yet it doth not follow but that the

strong may be guilty of excess. The quantity necessary depends in a great measure on habit, and likewise on the degree in which we toil and labor.

13. Considering the parish poor as the object under our immediate deliberation, particularly children, I am persuaded we might, partly by the increase of their industry, without the least act of tyranny, or want of humanity; and partly by mere *cooking* of their diet, diminish not increase the expence of parishes, and yet provide very amply for infants. With regard to their helpless state, the support of a young child, without a mother, should be considered as more expensive than the maintenance of a grown person: whereas according to the usual computation in some *slaughter workhouses*, no expence at all is bestowed upon them.

14. In regard to their *beverage*, though I think tea and sugar for the consumption of the poorer part of the people is a glaring absurdity; I am for promoting our own produce, I would encourage the use of good cherishing small beer; I consider it as adapted to our climate, and peculiarly correspondent with the state of the laboring poor. It *cheers, invigorates, and nourishes*: without it our lower classes would not be half the people they are. The revenue is nourished by it: first by the tax on malt, and next by the *labor* that beer produces. But when beer is too *new* or too old, young persons or old ones had better drink good water, as the poverty of many obliges them to do.

15. As to young persons living as much in the open air as the seasons will admit, it is the way to acquire health; but I apprehend the *head* should have covering, as parish children have, be it ever so light or so small. There is also a medium in point
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of dress, which every *climate* points out to the people of the whole earth. *Ours* requires a coat and waistcoat, which is a secret, I suppose, that hath been discovered ever since our forefathers discontinued the use of skins of beasts, or the manufactory of wool was known. Let the under-garment be made of ever so flimsy a woollen cloth, it serves for warmth in *winter*, when a coat is *buttoned*, and coolness in *summer*, when it is *opened*. Heat and cold operate equally to prevent the vigor of constitutions. We must consider what is comfortable to the body, or we shall not nourish the animal part, so as to become tall, strong, or beautiful. When refinements are made against *nature*, she generally shew us a trick in the issue.

16. What is most wanted in all public assemblings of poor or rich, is *sweet air*. Where numbers are congregated, it is impossible to preserve the air pure, without the assistance of ventilation, and sometimes *not with it*.

17. It is found to be of the greatest advantage in an infirmary, to use a boiler with herbs, with a tin tube to communicate the steam to the room. This medicates the air, and is of sovereign efficacy, contributing to the speedy recovery of patients, and the safety of those that visit them. It has been proved by some years experience in the F. H.

18. The hanging up linen cloths dipt in vinegar, is also an article of great importance to correct a putrid air; and I am amazed gentlemen of the faculty do not order this simple expedient upon all occasions, where the air is in any degree foul, as happens so often in workhouses, as well as the boiling of herbs, and communicating the steam. The advantage of vinegar in washing decks of ships, is found to be an admirable preservative

under the most dangerous circumstances ; and vinegar may be made at a very cheap rate.

19. I could never hear any good reason assigned, why children of 6 or 7 years old are not *regularly* taught to comb their own hair, and wash, not their faces and hands only, but also their *feet, mouths, and teeth*, and keep *the rest of their body clean*. The habit of it would contribute to the comfort and prolongation of life, and greatly invigorate them. They might also learn much earlier than is usual, to cut their own nails. The time allowed for such duties, *when learnt*, need not be long. But it requires more instruction to do these things properly, than is consistent with the ignorance and laziness of common nurses. An active and intelligent matron, who is not *tyrannical*, and yet will be *obeyed*, is the soul of an hospital or a workhouse.

20. Cleanliness is one of the most substantial advantages of riches ; and why should not the *poor* enjoy the common bounties of heaven, *air and water* ? Why should they not be *taught*, that the great parent of mankind is as indulgent to them as to the rich ; provided they will be *industrious* ? That if the rich are *lazy*, they will be *filthy* : if the poor are industrious, they will be cleanly.—It is allowed, that cleanliness is to the *body*, what virtue is to the *soul*. The poor are equally with the rich the care of one common parent ; and whatever enjoyments they can attain, at so easy an expence, tending to promote their happiness in their proper sphere ; it should be taught them *early*, that they may at the same time learn to send up their hearts in gratitude to their maker, for the *comforts* they daily receive.—The most filthy occupations in life, require the most knowledge how to refresh nature under its toils : but proper *instruction* and habit,

go far in all these respects. In very hot, and very cold climates, the poor as well as the rich use baths : with us it may be done by the assistance of a little water and coarse linen.

21. There are but few charity schools or workhouses governed upon so cleanly a plan, tho' it cost nothing but industry to promote the health, vigor, and immediate happiness of the objects themselves, and the welfare of our country.

22. As to high-days of cleanliness for *parade*, in London, I make no objection to it. Such sights please the bulk of mankind. If some *cynical* gentlemen are displeased, it is because the world will never be just as they would have it. But I mean nothing of parade or show, delicacy or expence, but solid cheap comfort, health and happiness, easily obtained by authority and instruction, and probably not to be acquired without such means.

23. I apprehend our common people are the most actively laborious in the world ; but they are often as careless of their *bodies* as of their *souls* : would they be less laborious if they were more cleanly ? The laboring people of some other nations, appear more cleanly in their persons, tighter and more free from rags than ours often are. The reason may be, that *they*, from their infancy, are under a necessity of taking care of themselves ; and *we* take care of the poor. We preserve many which they would lose ; but strictly speaking, we are not attentive to breed them up to a true sense of discipline, as to what belongs to cleanliness, as an article wherein health, comfort, decency, and activity are concerned. Neither do we take pains to render them so religious as they should be.

S E C T. X.

The Advantage of placing out Children, being for laborious Employments, as early as possible.

1. **T**HE sooner we begin to instruct children, in temporal as in moral concerns, the better.—*Train up a child in the way he should go.* This lesson was given by a very wise man, and it holds with regard to his being familiarized to the objects whereby he is to get his bread; as it does in his obligations to religion. The *poor* and *rich* must make a journey through the world, and the instruction drawn from *real life*, and the united force of *precept* and *example*, seems to be of more use than that which is learnt from precept only, shut up in schools or hospitals. But it is necessary to make this *distinction*; that where young persons are not early in servitude, under the eye of a good master, *in the world*, they had better be *dead* than in *idleness* or *vice*.

2. This I apprehend to be the difference with regard to placing out children born to labor; that it be done as soon as they can be placed out, (provided it be to such persons as can employ them in a *useful manner*;) or on the other hand, for keeping them *at school*, in order to their having *more years* and *more instruction*. In the case proposed, they might be better provided with both *in the world*, than they can be *out of it*; yet as there are but few

few such *very good masters* as one would wish: some regard must be had to give the child as *good principles* as he can be supposed capable of.

3. Where there is nothing to be learnt at school, but a habit of industry, with reading, and the first rudiments of religion, there can be no reason for a child's remaining beyond the age of nine, ten, or at most eleven, but that few people will take the burthen of instructing him so young. If they will take him, and there is sobriety in the family where he is placed, it will signify but little his being but ten or eleven years old: and if there is not sobriety, what *security* will there be for him at twelve or thirteen? As to forwardness and ability to be useful, this depends so much on vigilance and method of instruction, that some of the same natural capacity, are more *men* at ten, than others at twelve.

4. I am well assured, that children may get their bread from eight to ten years old, and from thence go on to earn three to eight shillings a week, very speedily; but this depends so much on manufacturies, and the docility of a child, that no certain rule can be drawn from it.

5. With regard to agriculture, which I consider as the first object; as it seems to be essential to the preservation of the *lives* of the parish poor infants of these cities, to be sent into the country to be nursed; so I am persuaded, it will be a happy circumstance if they are *continued*, and placed out *there*, and as few as possible returned here. When they have acquired a vigorous constitution, and a decent care is taken to give them moral and religious principles, if their parents, or their own inclinations, bring them to town, as it now brings 5000 recruits annually, of the genuine country produce, *let them come*.

6. I reckon, that in the country, a child may be placed out at ten years of age, with more ease, than at eleven or twelve in town, *proper assistance* being given to people, in that *tract of life*, wherein it is intended he shall get his bread. And, I see no reason why he should not be continued and 'prenticed out there. This being the condition of the reception in the parish, parents would generally consent. If the parent should alter his mind, or his circumstances be changed, so as to be able to take care of his own child, *independant* of the *parish*, nothing would be more proper, legal, and necessary, than that the child should be returned to him *gratis*, at his request. Address and caution not to comply with the temporary *caprice* of a father or mother, would be necessary; but I am no friend to a plan of *separation*. If children were always taught that their highest honor and happiness, is to assist their aged parents, when in distress or old age, *some* might retain the lesson.

7. If the child has no parents, or bad ones, the returning him to London, for a parish work-house education, if we may judge from experience, will either kill him, or seldom prove the way to make him a good and useful subject, or give him any chance of his becoming a prop to his aged parents. There is no reason, but the want of a proper *inspection* of nurseries, why this is not as practicable and familiar as any thing of the kind, which the Foundling Hospital is doing or has done. If there is any impediment to this plan, it arises from the constitution of the poor's laws, whereby the power and direction so often changes hands; and so little care is taken by *parishioners*, into whose hands it falls, so that there is no security for any right measure being pursued, when it is begun.

8. If

8. If parishioners will exert themselves, they may prescribe such regulations as may become an invariable rule, not subject to the ignorance, caprice, or inhumanity of a man, whom they may happen to chuse as a church-warden, or overseer. Thus children sent into the country, may *be provided for there*. Persons of consideration in the neighbourhood of the nurseries, would then be found to assist the parishes as *inspectors*, in paying the nurse, and seeing justice done to the children, both in rearing them, and placing them out, the same as has been done for the *Foundlings*; with this permanent advantage, that these children would not be sent from place to place continually, and change counties to be brought into hospitals, or new nurseries, as the *Foundlings* have been.

9. This would be a work worthy the zeal of individuals, who are of weight by birth, fortune, or council; without which, I see not how any regulation of this kind can take effect. By this means, we should annually supply the country with 12 or 1500 children, whilst the *country* was *recruiting London*, and so far decrease the mortality.

10. As to the offices of life, for which such poor children are usually required in these cities; let these be done by young persons whose parents are living on the spot, not being the objects of parish charity. Considering what *tribes of lazy vagabonds* infest our streets, this scheme would make a provision for them: they would fill up vacant places, whilst agriculture prospered the more, for the common good of all.

11. And forasmuch as the mortality in all large *manufacturing towns*, of children under two years of age, is much greater

than in healthy *villages*; if it is meant to increase our numbers, *all parish poor infants* should be sent out to be nursed in villages, in cases where they are not nursed by the *mother*, and continued there, 'till they are fit to be returned with safety to work. The more advantageously they can be employed, the more valuable the life; and from the best computation, on examining *parish registers of births and deaths*, in such towns and villages, the difference is found to be 13 in 100 in favor of the latter, i. e. 26 per 100 die in the towns, and 13 per 100 only in the villages.

SECT.

S E C T. XI.

The Benefit and Advantage of giving Apprentice Fees with poor Children.

1. **W**HEN children arrive to an age to be placed out, it is necessary to consider the terms. I have heard it was a remark of the worthy and amiable citizen Sir *Thomas Harrison*, that contentions between masters and apprentices seldom came before him, as chamberlain, but in cases where *money* had been given as an apprentice fee. What distinctions Sir *Thomas* really made is the question, because I apprehend in *all* cases money is given. It is certain that young persons would be sought for as apprentices, if there was no such thing existing as *money*. But whilst there is such a thing, and the child wants a master, more than the master an apprentice, people will not easily resign their pretensions to some pecuniary consideration for such purposes.

2. However, the committee of the F. H. have lately urged to the H. of C. that they find by experience they can do *better* for children *without* giving money as 'prentice fees *than with it*; because *it is supposed that by this means* nobody will ask for a child as an apprentice, who does not want one; or, in other words, no person is tempted to ask for a child for the sake of *money*. This seems to be an argument that proves too much. He that sells any thing for money, if I who buy am not careful, and consider what I am about, will be tempted to impose on me
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for the sake of the *money*. But these gentlemen, in the mean time, add, that the education given the foundlings is such as renders them preferable to all other children. This is a more substantial argument. The committee has accordingly, in 1765, put out 240 children of different ages, being near 6 in 100 of their number.

There is no disputing of facts; but 6 in 100 is not a sufficient number to judge by. I do not venture to assert that the event will not prove the consistency of their plan, on the general principle they lay down; but it cannot be followed by parishes, unless it become a *general rule*. If individuals give, as hitherto practised, and the parishes do not give, the parish child cannot be ushered into the world, unless it be also on the opinion of his superior education. In a short time the plea may become general: and if all are well educated, so much the better; but this will not change the system of money-loving.

3. The majority of people who take such children live from hand to mouth; and not to *assist them* seems to be rather a species of impolicy, than solid oeconomy. If the child is well taught, and the master well chosen, there is more reason for *giving money* than for *not* giving it. If sober people take children on reasonable terms, one would suppose the pecuniary consideration to constitute those very terms. It is surely no reason for misbehaviour in either master or child that money was given, but rather the contrary: and the child comes to him in a more, not less, respectable manner; so that upon the whole I can hardly think this plan will ever become universal, or prove to be the best rule.

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4. That parish children are often put to people who take them for the sake of the 3*l.* given, I believe is true. But the fault is not in giving the *money*, but in giving the *chila* to such persons whose characters are not sufficiently known, or such as are of doubtful reputation.

5. The sum given with the children of the clergy, when they are placed out, is but 20*l.* and they could not be placed out so properly without this fee. I believe some well-regulated parishes, which I consider in the same light as I do the F. H. give 5 to 10*l.* whilst others place children frequently in bad hands for 3*l.* only.

6. Where parishioners are not, by the tenure of lands, obliged to take children, 10*l.* is often found too little to encourage a farmer to take one at a tender age.

7. If it is meant to usher a child into life at 9, 10, or 11, it is a tender age, and requires *assistance*. And where the characters of persons requiring apprentices are known, *as in the country they must be*, I should be rather led to suspect, that less good is intended to the child when nothing is *ask'd* for, than when a *reasonable* apprentice fee is demanded.

8. But the F. H. has the advantage of the parishes in respect to such of their children as are congregated in hospitals, from the impressions some people receive of external decency and order, compared to the wickedness which is often seen in our streets: and perhaps the *choice* there is captivates others. Add to this, these children being detached from all *parental* or *fraternal* connexions, render them preferable to others in the esteem of some persons. This circumstance may attach a child to a master

master or mistress, if both parties are of good minds, and both behave properly; or become the greater evil, if either misbehave. In any case there can be no foundation for an invariable rule drawn from the F. H. be the event of the plan in question, good or evil.

9. But as the governors of the hospital have such numbers of children under their care to place out, it is more in their power to shew us an example than any other body of people whatsoever. And if they model their conduct on any good plan that can be followed, and from which any thing good may be learnt, they will do a more extensive service, than if it is confined to themselves only. Parishes should understand that the F. H. doth sometimes, and very properly, give 5, 6, or 7*l.* in what is called *nurse money*, i. e. so much per week, when they meant to encourage a reputable person to take a child of 8 to 10 years old, who would not take such child without: but in general they incline to try what they can do, to shew us an example of a different nature for the service of the poor children; for it must be presumed they cannot have any other intention.

10. It is not only the parishes, the charity-schools, and the children of the clergy, and of persons in private life, but we find that in the earliest days of simplicity, when 5*l.* was of three or four or five times its present value, in order the better to secure the obligations of masters, and to assist them, the children educated under that antient, permanent, and respectable institution of *Christ's Hospital*, the governors gave an *apprentice fee* of 5*l.* and continue to give it, without doubt upon this solid principle, that it cannot from the reason of things be expected any one taking

taking a child, or young person, can do so well *without* a pecuniary aid, as *with* it. If the abuse of the thing, in *some* instances, can be proved a good reason against the thing itself, in *all* cases, then I would vote for the total abolition of the custom. But as I apprehend it will be difficult to prove that the ceasing to give money with children, put out as apprentices, will mend *their* manners, or the manners of their masters, I cannot advise any such measure till I see more of the event.

11. The service to be done is the chief object in *servitude*, and upon this principle the child should be kept till the age of 12 to 15, as many are, and yet give money; but when it is considered that this creates a considerable expence, and that the child is subject to acquire habits, and to lose a considerable portion of the docile part of life: that imitation forms the capacity in the mechanic or laborious employments; and that the sooner young persons are familiarised to the objects whereby they are to get their bread, the more expert they will be; it *follows*, that the sooner they are placed out the better, *provided* they can manage their own persons with propriety, and that the master has sense and virtue enough to treat and employ them properly.

12. On the other hand, it is as certain that the apprenticeships of *some parish children* is as great a scene of inhumanity, as the suffering others to die in infancy, as if they were not entitled to the common rights of human nature. On this principle the caution of the governors of the F. H. is commendable; but I rather apprehend they will, in the issue, find

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they defeat their own end, for this plain reason, that great caution, and *a good apprentice fee, is a much better thing than great caution only.* The fault imputed to parishes is placing out children too young, with too little attention to whom they are given, and with too little assistance as an encouragement for proper persons to take them.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

*The Absurdity and Danger of placing out Children to the Age of 24.
a Part of the Statute of the 43d of Eliz. appearing necessary to be
reformed.*

I. **W**HETHER the parishes or the F. H. give money or not, I am sure there is a glaring absurdity in adhering to the liberty granted by the statute of the 43d Eliz. respecting the placing out boys till the age of 24, as practiced by the parishes as well as the F. H. If under the sanction of this law, advantage is taken of a child before he can judge for himself, and to save a few pounds in the fee, he is placed out in an apprenticeship to a taylor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a smith, a mason, a peruke-maker, a baker, a butcher, or such necessary employments, from 10 or 12 to the age of 24, we must not be surprized at the mischiefs which usually attend such apprenticeships. That they are a fruitful source of contention, and calamity to parish children, and no less to their masters; many who administer justice in these cities, can tell. The master, aspiring at too much service, defeats his own end. He cannot be served with so much alacrity towards the age of 18 or 19, when a lad knows he is to serve till 24, as when his servitude ends at 21; nor has a young man so good a chance of coming into the world with his master on his own account, if the master may dispose of him as his property till he is 24.

2. As soon as a lad finds himself to be 21, it is probable, if he is well inclined, and of a sober disposition, he will think of *marriage*, and if he is not soberly inclined, he will as surely think of running away from his master. It is our interest to encourage early marriage among the common people: and I suppose, that many of the fathers of the stoutest men in the kingdom, were not above 21 when their sons were born; shall we then bind him by a legal contract, and keep him in a servitude totally inconsistent with the conjugal state, to the age of 24? Common apprenticeships are for *seven* years; the indentures of girls generally run to the age of 21, or *marriage*. Is not the *male* a *man* also at 21? If such a poor boy is placed out at 12, if his indenture is not extended beyond the age of 21, still he serves *nine years*. This is the age of *manhood*, for the possession of the largest fortunes, in the richest empires.

3. Let us suppose a lad, admonished by a justice of the peace for negligence in his apprenticeship, at the age of 21; if he should plead his own cause, and say, "I was too much a minor to be consulted, whether I should be bound till the age of 24. Tho' it was my fortune to be thrown upon a parish, I am a *british subject*, and see no reason, why I have not a title to the enjoyment of my freedom, at the age of 21. If the parish officers had acted by me, as they would chuse to have been done by, they would have found a master for me, to serve for 9 years instead of 12. If they were absurd, or cruel in the exercise of their authority, I had rather stand to the event, with respect to the laws of my country, than serve my master any longer. I think I have done him very good and faithful service, and was in hopes he would have let me off at

21; if he will not let me off, I will not work for him any longer, and let him do his worst."

4. A sensible spirited young fellow might make such a speech, and yet have a very good heart. And what would any intelligent justice of the peace say? Could he *in his heart* condemn such an apprentice?—Is it not better to abolish an absurd tyrannical custom? To keep the poor from being licentious, they should have a reverence for laws; but if this part of the statute is productive of the breach of law, it had better be abrogated.

5. Suppose a boy put out to a *mariner* till the age of 24, be he 10 or 12 or 13 years of age, he is so far considered as a man at the age of 18, that in time of war the king challenges his service. Is his master to be paid for all the toils and bloody contests this brave young seaman may be engaged in for the course of six years?—So it is, in the cases of such 'prenticeships, of which there are many. By the tyranny of custom the master is legally entitled to the *pay*, and producing his indenture, doth frequently claim it, and is paid.

6. Let us consider, that times are altered from Q. Elizabeth's days. Such young persons as these, are not supposed to be placed out in employments of great trust, or great ingenuity. Such occupations may repay the servitude till 24—And such apprenticeships do frequently not commence till the age of 17; but this in question is a species of slavery; and in every view of it, the custom ought to be abolished. It will be one step towards regulating the conduct of parish officers, or governors of hospitals, in respect to poor children; and tend to restore a free and equitable principle of œconomy in parochial administration,

tion, and the peace and good order of society, for if it becomes general, as to parish children, and that no child shall be placed out beyond the age of 21, unless he is turned of 16 years of age, we shall cut up the root of this practice. I do not presume to touch the law in any other part, which I may not so well understand.

SECT.

S E C T. XIII.

The Necessity of a religious Education as the Foundation of a free Subjection to human and divine Laws, and a Proposal for the Promotion of it by the most simple and practicable Expedient.

1. **T**HE permanent belief and mature consideration of the immortality of the soul, opens men's minds to a sense of the true genius and spirit of christianity, and a contempt of all things that clash with their hopes of happiness after death. But men born to fortunes, or providentially acquiring them, are generally anxious for more and greater acquisitions, and spend so much of their time in the pursuit of them, as to forfeit many enjoyments which are agreeable to the dignity of their nature. Thus in the esteem of the philosopher and the christian, the *poor* have oftentimes the advantage, tho' their poverty exposes men to such wants as operate equally strong as temptations. Thus reason and experience prove, that as surely as virtue is our supreme felicity, the middle station is the safest, and therefore the *best*. Our state in general, without distinction of fortune, is such that we must perpetually militate against the evil principle which predominates in our hearts, as the only means to prevent our returning to a savage state of life.

2. With regard to the poor, were it not for the many charity-schools with which this nation abounds, and particularly

these great cities, there is too much reason to believe the common people would not be bred up to *any* sense of religion : and as they would not teach their children what they never learnt, we might easily see a return of antient barbarism. As it is, if we wait till example *ascends* from the poor to the rich, or from the child to the parent, we are not likely to see the work accomplished.

3. But granting as great honor and advantage to *schools of instruction* as they can claim, some other aid is wanting among us for the promotion of piety, and the obedience, subordination, and good order which naturally result from it. And if this is not to be expected immediately from the *labors* of the *rich*, we must seek it by some regulations whereby their riches without their labors, may produce the end in view.

4. Money is now become so much the idol of mankind, and particularly in this commercial nation, that it is hardly possible to carry any design into execution in which it has not some share. And with regard to the indigent part of mankind it must be provided in some shape or other. They have no chance of wealth but from industry ; but if they can receive any emolument from industry, even in *religion*, the end in view may be happily answered, especially if it keeps up in the hearts of children the piety they learnt at school, or is instrumental in teaching them what they were deficient in.

5. Accordingly I humbly propose to the serious consideration of all who have young persons under their care, especially of the poorer part of mankind, as follows :

I. All

I. All young persons placed out, as apprentices, from parish workhouses, charity-schools, hospitals, or other public charities, or places of industry, giving no money as an apprentice fee, or giving less than 20/. to be entered in a book, according to a form to be prescribed; one margin whereof to be left blank to be filled up with the date of the certificate, hereafter mentioned: the said book to be paid for by the officers, governors, masters or directors of their charities, and the entry to be made by their respective masters or clerks. The page or folio wherein such entry is made, to be inserted in the indenture.

II. A book *in twelves* to be provided, not to exceed 150 pages, which shall contain a choice collection of texts from the scriptures, and such prayers as have been used by the children in their respective schools, hospitals, workhouses, or places of labor, with the addition of some other prayers; also particular instructions regarding the duty of a good apprentice to his master. The same likewise to contain the form of the indentures, with blanks, to be filled up, so that the same be a complete copy. Another of the same book, in the same manner, to be presented to the master or mistress: And the books to be also sold publicly at the the price of six-pence.

III. The indenture to set forth the sum to be given at the time stipulated, and on the following terms: *Viz.* (suppose) forty-two shillings, payable on a certificate, to be granted and signed by the rector, or curate, one churchwarden, and one overseer; or in want of both, either the church warden or overseer, likewise one elder of the parish where the 'prentice serves; the master and mistress also signing the same, and declaring that they have constantly recommended and encouraged the apprentice in praying,
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morning and evening, worshipping at church on the Sabbath, and keeping up in his mind a sense of his duty to God.

IV. The certificate so given to be in a printed form, with blanks to fill up the names and age of the apprentice, master or mistress, and that the apprentice did at such a time (the name and time being in blank, to be also filled up) appear before him, and in the presence of the parties signing thereto, read half a chapter in the New Testament, which he, the rector or curate, selected, and did repeat without book, as follows, the Lord's prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, and a morning and evening prayer. Two shillings to be paid to the rector, or his curate, who examines the party, and signs the certificate, so that *forty shillings* remain to the master or mistress.

V. If the apprentice is deficient, permission to be given to return at any time within the compass of sixteen months; the certificate not to be given to an apprentice under fourteen, nor above fifteen and a half years of age.

VI. The rector or curate to keep a fair register-book, in a form prescribed, of all 'prentices who have appeared before him, and a column for the date of the certificate to be filled up, when he passes the same.

VII. If the certificate is not passed at the first appearance of the apprentice, the rector, or his curate, is to recommend in the strongest terms, to the master or mistress, the consideration of the disgrace of losing the premium, as the apprentice's name will stand a blank in his register book; besides the great injury done to the apprentice, and to themselves, by their not being more attentive in their duty to God.

VIII.

VIII. The rector or curate to be desired to read publicly, on Christmas-day, the names of all the masters and 'prentices, to whom he hath given such certificates during the course of the year, that the congregation present, may be at once reminded of the premium, so far as any of them may be concerned, and likewise of the duty which they owe to God.

6. Upon this I have to observe, that nothing can be more simple than a proposition of this sort, as one expedient to bring the common people to a sense of their duty to their maker, at least to the knowledge of the great *out-lines* of religion.

7. Whatever hospitals or charities may be inclined to do by virtue of their own authority, the plan might be reduced to common practice; perhaps without constituting any part of an act of parliament. If the indentures were in the first instance registered by the rector, he would see if the premium is demanded, and how the apprentice behaves.

8. In any case it must be apparent, that a solemn invitation to perform the task required, is an object of the utmost importance, towards assisting the laboring poor to learn what belongs to their present and everlasting happiness, by the strongest proof that can be expected, that he who fears God, gives the best assurance of consulting the welfare of his master, and the peace and happiness of his country. And it must be no less evident, that such a pecuniary emolument, will be the best incentive, and most constant monitor to good actions, whether the duty be always performed exactly as it should be or not.

9. As to the execution, it is not to be presumed the rector, or his curate, will be rigid in the examination: or, on the other

hand, so remiss in his duty, as to render it of no effect. And as so many must join in the fraud, the supposition that this will happen, strikes at the foundation of all good faith, insomuch, that it implies a total indifference on the part of the master, as to shewing any regard to what his 'prentice has learnt, or will learn of religious duties under him. But with a small portion of attention, the profit and honor, and real duty, on one side; and the shame, loss, and disgrace, on the other, cannot fail of producing some happy effects.

10. To facilitate this matter, I say nothing of the catechism, be it taught or not; I mean only *that* which a young person may really and truly understand, and by habit he be kept in some awe by his *belief* and *trust* in God. The gratuity will be a means of keeping the apprentice in remembrance of what hath been taught him, before he was put out, and also what he has learnt of his master, whilst it is a means of his former friends and patrons holding a connection with him.

11. In answer to the objections that may arise, I ask, if children, placed out as they now are, should be adepts in their prayers, and able to do all, or more than I have mentioned, when they went out; how is it that we know they are kept to any sense of their duty?

12. Such a plan as this will create the most sincere veneration for any institution, which may practise it, with all people, who have any sense of religion. And if obedience to government depends on *religion* as well as the *gallows*: if early instruction is the foundation of religion, and such instruction may be easily lost by neglect; the force of this proposition will be clear

clear and apparent. I suppose such an example may lay a foundation, on which the most regular and harmonious structure of religion may be erected in *private* life, as well as in *public charities*; and that from its nature and tendency, it cannot fail of making such an impression on the poor, as must produce many good effects, in regard to their behaviour towards the great author of nature, their *God* and their *Redeemer*.

13. To suppose that these certificates *will not be true*, is bearing hard on churchmen, and the characters of the gravest parishioners; and if a falsehood can be detected as easily as hearing a child repeat, what the certificate attests, it will surely argue more caprice, than good sense or piety, to object to the proposition on any such injurious presumption.

14. I therefore seriously recommend this plan, till a better is contrived. Life doth not afford so many opportunities of doing good, as to neglect a design of such importance. I hope those that mean to act *as parents* to poor children, and to do the best they can, to keep them unspotted from the world, will follow this plan, or chalk out a better.

15. It cannot be imagined, that parish officers, or governors of charities, can visit children, when dispersed over a kingdom. Alas! how few know where half a dozen such children are placed out, except when they look into their books. But in this way, *they* will be kept in mind for a few years, as if it were their own children in question. And whether as parishes, or as public charitable institutions, they take cognizance of such certificates, they certainly will not pay the money in question, but upon the conditions stipulated.

16. I apprehend, the common people will never lose sight of *money*, though they often lose sight of heaven. If the young person be 14 to 16, and so qualified as related, and the master or mistress make a declaration, as part of the certificate, that the child has, to the best of their belief or knowledge, constantly said both morning and evening prayer, such as shall be repeated to the clergyman, on occasion of his giving the certificate; it can hardly fail of operating happily, not on the child only, but also on the master and mistress themselves.

17. What I am urging arises from experience; I have had frequent opportunities of knowing, from my own senses, that *thousands* of the poor are in such gross ignorance of religion, that they cannot even repeat the *Lord's Prayer* or the *Belief*. And I have hardly found any, though in reputable businesses, who offer a single word to their maker, when they rise in the *morning*, whatever they pretend to do at *night*.

18. Can it be thought, that children will be good or bad, but as their masters or mistresses keep them up to a sense of religious duties? Very few of the laboring part of these kingdoms, are bred in hospitals. And how, as I have said, do we know that hospital or charity children are taken care of in this article?

19. When a child is placed out by the F. H, a parchment of instructions, and a bible, are given: every one must approve of this; but if a little book were compiled, containing about the fortieth part of the Old and New Testament, and a few prayers out of the Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, and a well digested morning and evening prayer, all calculated for the purpose of promoting moral duties, industry, and trust in God through the Redeemer of mankind;

kind; such a book might answer the purpose intended, in their youthful state, better than the *whole* of the Old and New testament.

20. Improvements founded in reason and the common sense of mankind, demand attention. Children often read the *scriptures* with about as much understanding of them, as a parrot could have, and as a task which is extremely irksome, infomuch that many never look into the book after they leave school. Is it not a melancholy consideration, when religion is not even treated so respectfully as a political device? As children grow up, the whole of the Old and New Testament may be recommended to them; and they should be assisted to relish it. This I apprehend may be easily done in the little book I allude to, by skilfully pointing out what passages are the most essential for them to understand and practise.

21. Thus whilst the *young* person is learning the way to heaven, the *elder* will find the road, which I am persuaded they now often mistake. The knowledge and practice of their duty may cease to appear as a laborious task. Religion is seldom introduced to them clothed in her native beauty and simplicity.

22. If any warm-brain'd enthusiast, or capricious caviller, should say, 'This is *bribing* people to be religious;' my answer is, It is very happy if they become religiously inclined by such a bribe. The rule could not be observed without some true sense of religion; and if temporary advantages precede the temporal or eternal reward, it is but an ordinary effect of virtue, and agreeable to *his* decrees, who made the human heart.

We do not usually fall foul of the 'Squire for the beef and pudding which he gives on Sundays to his tenants who attend

divine service, shutting out those who do not attend it. His intention is good; it is to give them a habit of religious duties. Surely such a bribe as this would promote, not injure, the reputation either of the parent, the parish officer or governor who 'prenticed out the child; or the clergyman, the parish-officer, the elder, or master, who were witnesses to the discharge of the religious obligation mentioned in the certificate. As to the objection of the lesson being learnt *only for the occasion*, the same argument will hold against giving any instruction at any time. If it is learnt, it is so far happy.

23. This design will be of the nature of catechising a lad, or grown girl, in the shortest, most simple, and familiar manner. It will be a wholesome discipline to master or mistress, and the minister's reading the list to whom certificates have been given since the last publication, will make a happy impression on all his congregation.

24. This plan being an additional labor to the clergy, they will be intitled to the *two shillings* for each certificate; and thus it will be *their* interest also to give such certificates, but surely not *their interest* to give *false ones*. I dare say some of them will joyfully present the tax to the boy or girl that is well taught; and others, from their situation, will have a very good title to receive it.

S E C T. XIV.

The Importance of cultivating a Sense of Religion among the Poor, and particularly in the great Duty of Prayer.

1. **W**E complain of this age being dissolute and thoughtless, and there has been too much reason to complain in all ages. *Consideration* may be taught, as well as any thing else; but it doth not appear to be in fashion with the children of the rich, much less do the *poor* learn it. When these are instructed to read, they also learn to repeat certain words, which are called *prayers*, and when they repeat these words, they call it *saying their prayers*. But if their teacher doth not question and instruct them, and repeat to them, in a manner as if himself understood the meaning of the words, and as if he felt the force of them, and was sensible of the majesty of him to whom they are addressed, with a sense of *his own* unworthiness, how is the young person to learn any thing of this kind? Is *he* to become a *man* before his *master*, or before *he* has adequate ideas of the most simple words, for no other reason, than because they are *intended* to be addressed to his maker? Doth not much of our irreligion arise from the ignorance or indolence of parents or teachers among the *poor*? Are such teachers examined as to their ability, and manner of teaching? And where is our sense, our wisdom, our piety, when the event is left to chance, without a

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check

check or examination,—except when we are admitted to *degrees* in learned professions.

2. From the nature of our condition as men, nothing can open our minds more to a sense of virtue, and a proper estimation of a transitory world, than the thought of *death*, and its concomitants, judgment, heaven, or hell. But as if we imagined the young person would grow melancholy, if we applied it closely to his mind; we pass this matter over in as transient a manner, as if he really had very little or no interest in it. How few support such dignity in life as arises from a due sense of our condition. The *rich* refine away the most solemn considerations, and the *poor* treat them with indifference. We crowd to a *rareshow*, but who attends or sends young persons to attend the *end of this world*, and the commencement of eternity. We have an admirable prayer when we commit *dust to dust*; but I question if *one* young person, in *five hundred*, knows there is such a thing. Why should not *they* be taught *what life is*? With a little change of words it may be adapted to common use (*a*), and rendered as *familiar* as it is important.

(*a*) **A**Lmighty God, and parent of mankind, I beseech thee of thy infinite mercy and goodness, to teach me to consider, that man who is born of a woman hath but a short time to live; that he cometh up and is cut down like a flower; that he fleeth as it were a shadow, never continuing in one stay. Teach me, O Father of mercy, to consider, that in the midst of life I am in death; and of whom can I seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, tho' for my sins thou art justly displeased.—Yet, O God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, deliver me not into the bitter pains of eternal death.—Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of my heart; shut not thy merciful ears to my prayers; nor thou, O blessed Redeemer, and judge of quick and dead, suffer me

important. Would a young person, with the natural frame of mind, which the indulgent author of nature hath given us, grow *melancholy* with the thought, that he might die at *thirteen*, when he sees his master alive at *three-score*? Would he not rather learn to possess his soul in peace, from the consideration, that if he should die he shall be happy.

3. I lay it down as a principle, both in morals and politics, that nothing is so essential to the life of man, as commerce with his maker. In theory, this is never denied; but in practice, it is amazing to consider, how few learn to address him with awe, and propriety of expression. The *rich* are not taught it at any public school; they are not taught *any relish* of devotion, but rather by an injudicious intrusion of too much external piety, and attendance at church, we make young lords and gentlemen sick of devotion before they leave school. *When* it is that they are restored to a vigorous sense of this duty, the great searcher of hearts can best tell.

4. The present business is to take the *poor* under our patronage. So far as any suggestion of this kind may avail, I would consider, not only the means of teaching them in the first instance, but how they may retain their instruction in life in the most effectual manner. I consider *acquaintance with God*, as no visionary expression, but so far as *adoration, gratitude, and obedience*, differ from *carelessness, ingratitude, and disobedience*, we are all deeply interested first to learn, and then to teach the poor
what

not at my last hour, for any pains of death, to *fall from thee*. Teach me, O God, in all conditions and extremities, to rejoice in the comfort of thy holy word, and to do my duty whilst I live, in steady hope of a resurrection to immortal happiness, through the merits and mediation of the same Jesus Christ, the blessed Saviour of the world.

what belongs to their peace, before it is hid from their eyes for ever.

5. I can by no means think their prayers should be tedious, but short, plain, and simple. Some forms which are adopted, are too diffuse, too figurative in expression, or involved in sense, and upon the whole, very unfit for a child.—It is no easy task to adapt prayers to the capacity of children, and yet give them force of expression, tenderness of sentiment, as addresses to the *Father* of mankind, dignity and awe, as to the *maker* of heaven and earth.

6. The foundlings a few years since, had a prayer of the kind I have related, full of good sense and piety, but in general the children could not learn it. What they now use (*b*) is extremely familiar to them.

7. The

(*b*) *A MORNING PRAYER used by the Children of the Foundling-Hospital.*

O Lord God Almighty, who hast made me, and all the world, I humbly thank thee for thy care of me in the night past. Continue thy favor and compassion to me : keep me this day from all harm, and help my endeavors to behave myself humbly, soberly, and godly, that I may always please thee in thought, word, and deed.

O merciful Father, make me to remember, that it is by thy gracious providence I am clothed and fed, and my life preserved. Teach me to be always contented, and pray for those who have acted as parents to me. Give me an awful reverence of thy majesty ; and make me tremble and afraid of offending thee, by any falsehood, fraud, or uncleanness ; any unjust or uncharitable action ; that I may be happy in the enjoyment of a good conscience ; and never fall into that dreadful and everlasting punishment, which waits on impenitent sinners.

This I beg, O Lord, in the name of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

7. The prayers at Christ's Hospital are supposed to be for elder children than the *foundlings*, and the most part of their compositions seem to be extremely good, (c) but not equal in dignity and simplicity to some prayers in the Liturgy. It is a question, if the request, that *The day-spring from on high may now and ever shine upon them*, though a bold and beautiful figure, is really intelligible to a child, notwithstanding the pious author might imagine it to be so scriptural and devout, that it must needs be proper; but if upon examination it is not found to be proper, why should children use such expressions in their addresses to their God and Father?

8. Let

(c) MORNING PRAYERS at Christ's Hospital.

O God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, who of thy merciful goodness hast brought us to the beginning of this day: we thine unworthy children beg that the day-spring from on high may now and ever visit and shine upon us: and that pardoning our offences, and continuing to be good unto us, thou wouldest dispose us to a better conformity to thy laws, and obedience to thy commandments, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Redeemer. *Amen.*

REMEMBER not, Lord, the sins of our youth, nor the follies of our childhood: but consider whereof we are made, and from what we are fallen by the transgression of our first parents, and be merciful unto us. O teach us betimes to number our days, that we may apply our hearts early unto wisdom, for Jesus Christ his sake. *Amen.*

LET thy blessings, O Lord, descend abundantly upon the persons and families of all our benefactors, accept their offerings, and be thou their exceeding great reward. Bless our governors, and forget not their labour of love, which they have undergone for thy name's sake: neither suffer thou us to be ungrateful to thee or them. We likewise beg of thee to preserve us in perpetual safety, for the sake of our only Saviour, in whose name and words we continue to pray—*Our Father, &c.*

8. Let us see how the morning prayer in the Liturgy stands as we find it, or if adapted to private use, with the change of a few words (*d*).

Here I must observe, that prayers which may with propriety be used through life, are so far the best to learn in childhood, if, as I fear, (though it is a bold thought) the bulk of mankind do not often learn any form of words after they grow up, except those of the Liturgy; and very few are qualified to pray without form, with an intense devotion.

9. The primitive Christians used to pray at *noon*, as well as in the morning, and at night. The Mahommedans pray at noon; and so do the pious Jews. And I have observed some of the papists in Portugal do the same. I see there is an excellent prayer at *Christ's Hospital* for *noon* (*e*), to which there can be no objection, unless it be that the idea of the sun in his meridian altitude, is introduced in a manner a child may not comprehend. The Foundlings have one to be used night or morning

(*d*) O God, my Father, and Lord of heaven, who hast safely brought me to the beginning of this day; defend me in the same with thy almighty power, and grant that I fall not into any sin, neither run into any kind of danger, but that all my thoughts and actions may be ordered by thy governance, that I may do all things acceptable in thy sight. This I beg, O merciful and tender Father, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer. *Amen.*

(*e*) O Father of light, shine upon us with the fulness of thy grace. Do away our offences, cloath us with humility, and fill us with thy holy spirit, that we may be enabled to do such good works, as thou hast ordained us to walk in: look down in compassion upon thy poor children. Protect our tender age from the violence of temptation; strengthen us by thy almighty power; and as we grow in years, so make us grow in grace, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

morning (*f*), and which may serve for noon. But as the world goes, it is well if children pray properly *twice* in the day.

10. For the evening, the children of Christ's Hospital have a prayer, (*g*) which, if it were to pass through an examination, might be made to deal less in *figures*, and to supplicate mercy, rather than to confess sins, of which the children may not have been guilty, or if they have, they have very little sense of them: and if this is the opinion of those that govern, one would wish to see reason prevail in all things. This however is in its favor as it stands, that it may serve the better when they grow up to manhood, with a small change of expression.

Those

(*f*) O Merciful Lord and tender Father, I most humbly beseech thee to give me thy assistance, that I may constantly study, and earnestly endeavor to serve thee in all things with a sincere and willing mind.

Grant that I may be most truly thankful and dutiful to my benefactors, masters, and teachers; harmless and kind to all others; that by thy grace I may always govern myself with patience and meekness, as taught by my blessed Redeemer in his holy gospel.—And when I die, O let me enjoy that happiness in the life to come, which thou hast promised to those who are good, and serve thee with a true heart.

This I beg, O merciful Father, for the sake of thy beloved Son, my Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath commanded me, when I pray, to say, *Our Father, &c.*

(*g*) O Father of mercies, look upon us of thy great goodness. We have sinned against thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy children. The wantonness and folly of our youth prevailed upon us, the frailty and stubbornness of our depraved nature have made us to err: O forgive us our sins. We come to thee heavy laden with the weight of this day's transgressions: refresh our drooping spirits; and grant us thy grace so to walk before thee for the future, that we may bring fruit meet for repentance, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Those for the Royal Family and their founders (*b*), must be approved, though they also begin with a *figure*.

11. The evening prayer of the Foundlings (*i*), seems to contain a summary of christianity, in theory and practice, as far as a child's address to heaven can be supposed to extend. The prayer (*k*) said

(*b*) **W**ATER, we beseech thee, with the heavenly dew of thy blessing, Christ's holy church, particularly this portion of it in which we live: Guide, strengthen, and protect it. Bless our most gracious Sovereign Lord King GEORGE, and all the Royal Family, and all that are in authority under him. Bless this city, and every member of it, particularly this Royal Foundation, with all that serve in it, or do good unto it. And this we beg for Christ his sake. *Amen.*

We praise thee for our Founders and Benefactors, and for the comfort thou hast afforded us by their means, both to soul and body: bless, and greatly increase their substance who have satisfied the poor with bread; let their families be prosperous upon earth, and a sure and full reward be given them of the Lord at the resurrection of the just. Grant that we, with thankful hearts for all thy mercies, may cheerfully do thy will, through Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

(*i*) **O** God, my Almighty Creator and Preserver, accept my humblest thanks for thy protection, and all the blessings I have received this day past. Forgive all the sins which I have committed against thee this day, and make me afraid and ashamed to do any thing that is wrong. Let me constantly remember, that thou art present every where, both day and night, and that all my thoughts, all my words, and actions, are open to thy view.

I now lie down to rest, O merciful and tender Father, in humble confidence that thy goodness will keep me in safety; that I may arise refreshed with sleep, in health, and strength, of body and mind; and when this present life is ended in death, O Lord, receive my soul into that happy state, which thou hast prepared for thy obedient children.

This I beg, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who died upon the cross, that through my obedience to thy laws, I may be redeemed from my sins. *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

(k), said by the children in Christ's Hospital, in the several wards at night, going to bed, is highly commendable, and of superior dignity; it may serve the children, when grown up to manhood.

12. But I cannot bring myself to think, that the prayer (l), is proper to be in use, unless the expressions of *dreams and affrighting and distracting fancies, and the horrors of darkness*, are a little changed. The ideas of the words, create the very evils they are intended to prevent. If the children go to bed in health, with moderate diet, and trusting in their God, why all this terror? The conclusive part (m), is excellent.

As to the manner in which children in general are *taught*, or rather *permitted* to read prayers, or to pray, it is of all things in the world the most *absurd*. The same may be said of their *screaming*

(k) LORD, let the rest we are going to, mind us of the hour of death: and now that we are going to lie down, let us consider, that it may be, we shall rise up no more. We do earnestly, therefore, repent us of our sins, and are heartily sorry for our misdoings; and we beseech thee, give us grace so to be sensible of all our errors for the time to come, that the remembrance of them, may be a warning to us, to continue steadfast in our obedience, and ever to walk in newness of life, to the glory of thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

All honor and praise be given to thee, O Lord God Almighty, for the life thou hast raised us to by thy free grace, and for the hopes of glory: for the free course of thy gospel among us, and for the ministers of thy holy word and sacraments. Give us grace, we pray thee, so to apply these means which thou hast afforded us, that they may become salvation to us, through our blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

(l) Preserve us, O merciful God, from all evil dreams, from all affrighting and distracting fancies, from the horror of the night, and the works of darkness.

(m) Give us quiet and composed thoughts, and such rest in thee, that we may sleep under the covering of thy wings, and awake in thy favor, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

screaming when they mean to *sing* with solemn devotion, and true measure. They are both a mere burlesque. I am sure a very little pains, and patience, might remedy these abuses. The absurdity of being thus trifling in religious duties, admits of no excuse.

14. As for the grace before meat, at Christ's Hospital (*n*), I make no objection, yet I wish in general to remind the world of the duty of charity as in the form (*o*). I have no objection to the grace after meat (*p*).

15. I give my thoughts with freedom, with a view to inspire a *warm* but *rational* attention to the poor in every state and condition; and I consider Christ's Hospital, and the F. H. as patterns, being conducted, each in its way, with more propriety than workhouses, or most other places of assembling the poor.

16. If a collection were made of all the forms, regulations, and domestic oeconomy, of our numerous charities in the kingdom, every one would extract the sweets of such a labor. It seems to be a work worthy of any man of sense, piety, and leisure, whether he be a deep theologist or not.

S E C T.

(*n*) **G**IVE us thankful hearts, O Lord God, for the table which thou hast spread for us. Bless thy good creatures to our use, and us to thy service, for Jesus Christ his sake. *Amen.*

(*o*) **O** GOD, our Father, we beseech thee, to supply the wants of all our fellow creatures, and inspire our hearts with gratitude and love for this and all thy mercies to us, for Jesus Christ his sake. *Amen.*

(*p*) **B**Lessed Lord, we yield thee hearty praise and thanksgiving for our Founders and Benefactors, by whose charitable benevolence thou hast refreshed our bodies at this time. So season and refresh our souls with thy heavenly Spirit, that we may live to thy honor and glory. Protect thy church, the King, and all the Royal Family. And preserve us in peace and truth, through Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

S E C T. XV.

Further Reasons in support of the Proposal for a pecuniary Gratuity, after a certain time, to those who do their duty to poor Children, as Apprentices, on the religious and prudential Plan proposed.

1. **W**E Protestants have no faith in the mere *Opus operatum* but I have constantly observed, from the moment a boy becomes profligate, or a girl a harlot, they bid adieu to their prayers. As on the other hand, when they practice this duty, and attend to it, in any tolerable degree, they are in a great measure kept in awe of that *power* to whom they address their prayers.

2. I have been also several times a witness to the effect of prayer among young persons, who have been 'prenticed out. A little wholesome serious advice on this principle, to the master or mistress, as well as the child, pointing out what words they should use, and upon what occasions of trespasses, and temptations to obstinacy and perverseness, is of great moment. A refractory boy or girl hath been thus subdued: it hath produced all the happy consequences which a belief or confidence in the promises or protection of heaven, or the fear of punishment after death, can be supposed to create in the mind of a child, not become impenetrable to such impressions. Without talking the language of enthusiasm, can there be any thing of so much consequence to the *poor*, as well as the *rich*, as the custom and habit of prayer?

3. In the present situation of the dissoluteness of the *higher* ranks, as well as of the *lower*, I do not discover how the lower can be called back, and put in a right train, so effectually as by beginning with young persons, not only in schools or hospitals, but where they are actually put into the world, and in the path wherein they are to be trained up. But how is this to be accomplished by any means, exclusive of the piety of the master and mistress? If they happen to be rationally *pious*, or not very *impious*, by keeping them in mind of their duty, by a *peculiar provision* for it, we shall at once shame them if they neglect it, and do them honor, and give them profit too, if they observe it. I have revolved this much in my thoughts: I have examined it at the bar of my reason: I have compared it with long experience: I have consulted judicious discerning persons. In every shape I find it stand the *test*.

4. To corroborate the opinion by *facts*, it is necessary also to mention that whilst I was happily engaged in the service of the poor, during the late war, I observed that of some hundreds of young North Britons, who came to us directly from Scotland, none of them were given to swearing; every one could read, and say his prayers; and none of them were in rags.—Among the English boys, picked up in the same manner, for the same purpose, sorry I am to say it, the most part of them were in the most filthy ragged condition, and hardly with any notions of religion.

5. Upon enquiry how it came about, that my own country boys were outdone in this way, I found the Scotch clergy had examined them yearly, and kept them to their duty. Now it is upon this very principle of experience among the dregs of mankind,

kind, and the reason of things, I found my belief, that much good may arise from an obvious and simple plan, whereby it will become the duty and interest of master and 'prentice, clergyman, parent and child, expressly stipulated for in indentures, for a certain small sum of money, to be paid at a certain time, for the purpose related, that our brave, industrious, comely *English boys* and *girls* may maintain what they have learnt before they were placed out, or acquire instruction after it. It is so evident from the reason and nature of things, that it may be accomplished by such means as proposed, I hope parochial officers, governors of charity-houses, hospitals, and parents in general, will try the experiment. It is but regulating a part of the money usually given, in a *new mode*; or giving so much more, expressly for a purpose of such vast importance. If it doth not produce *all* the good we wish, it cannot fail of an ample portion.

5. As the case stands at present, what I insist on, is, to know what clue there is, whereby to trace out, that a child is kept to his duty, a day after he is 'prenticed out. Will the master declare himself negligent? Will the child make a formal complaint to his governors or parents, "my master is indifferent, whether "I say my prayers or not." As well may we expect him to complain, that he is suffered to *play* when he should *work*.

6. If gentlemen who have the care of the poor, will take that for granted, which experience so often contradicts, they cannot, at the same time, pretend to be warm friends to the poor. And it will be absurd to complain of the irreligion of the common people, and the sad effects of impiety, and yet use no rational precautions to bring them into a due sense of their everlasting obligations.—The way to preserve the bodies and souls of all the poor, in public and private, is by one and the same rule.

7. I have only to add, that although such a design as this seems to be most valuable for *these and other great cities and towns*, and where there are not parents and friends to admonish young persons or their masters, or where their parents only corrupt them: at the same time, if it be *true* that a very great part of our common people are ignorant and profligate, it must be deemed a very just and right measure to have a *check* on them, with which it becomes their *interest* to comply.

8. Another method indeed of providing for the parish poor, both body and soul, is to let them *all die in infancy*, after a medium of life of *twenty-four days and eight hours*, as last year happened to 64 in 78, in the united parishes of St. Andrew's above Bars and St. George the Martyr: but this evil, I am persuaded, we shall soon see rectified, and that all such prescriptions will be condemned hereafter by the whole college of political and theological, as well as medical doctors.

S E C T.

S E C T. XVI.

A List of the Parishes whose Numbers of Children are worthy of Notice; with a curious Anecdote relating to a Parish-Nurse; and the Conclusion, inviting to the Exercise of Humanity to the Children of the Poor under the Care of Parishes.

GENERAL SURVEY of the REGISTERS of the PARISHES having any considerable Number of CHILDREN.

<i>Those parishes marked *, have no workhouse.</i>	Born and received.	Discharged.	Remaining.	Of whom from 1 to 4 years old.	Of whom dead.	Under 12 months old.	Of whom dead.	Dead per Ct. from 1 to 4 years old.	Dead per cent. under 12 months old.	Pages of remarks in this book.
<i>Parishes without the Walls.</i>										
St. Andrew, Holborn	58	13	45	22	8	23	15	35	69	
St. Bartholomew the Great	3		3							
St. Bride *	10	2	8	6		2	1		50	35
St. Botolph, Aldersgate	11		11	6	1	5	3	16	60	
St. Botolph, Aldgate	28	6	22	12	3	10	8	25	80	35
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate	29	9	20	10	3	10	8	30	80	35
St. Dunstan, West	5		5	1		4				
St. George, Southwark	24	12	12	3	2	9	5	66	55	
St. Giles, Cripplegate	39	22	17	9	5	8	6	55	75	
St. John, Southwark	28	12	16	8	3	8	6	37	75	
St. Olave, Southwark	25	12	13	9	2	4	4	22	100	
St. Saviour, Southwark	48	12	36	19	10	17	8	5	48	
St. Sepulchre, Newgate	49	13	36	17	11	19	15	64	79	
<i>Parishes in Midd. and Surry.</i>										
St. Ann, Middlesex	12	1	11	6		5	2		40	
Christ Church, Southwark	16	5	11	10	5	1	1	50	100	

<i>Parishes in Midd. and Surry continued.</i>	Born and received.	Discharged.	Remaining.	Of whom from 1 to 4 years old.	Of whom dead.	Under 12 months old.	Of whom dead.	Dead per Ct. from 1 to 4 years old.	Dead per cent. un- der 12 months old.	Pages of remarks in this book.
Christ Church, Middlesex	34	17	17	3	2	14	7	66	50	
St. Dunstan, Stepney	16	4	12	8	1	4	1	12	25	
St. George, Middlesex	19	1	18	12	8	6	4	66	66	41
St. Andrew above Bars and St. George Martyr, some- times called St. George Queen's Square, and Holborn above Bars	141	17	124	34	20	90	64	60	71	35, 57
St. Geo. Bloomsbury and St. Giles in the Fields	178	62	116	67	22	49	39	33	80	45
St. James and St. John, Clerkenwell	78	33	45	31	14	14	11	46	80	
St. John, Hackney	19	9	10	8	1	2	1	12	50	
St. John, Wapping	35	8	27	20	2	7	3	10	43	
St. Catherine, Tower	4	2	2			2	1		50	
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	65	7	58	36	8	22	6	22	27	
St. Luke, Middlesex	41	2	39	16	5	23	15	31	65	54
St. Mary, Islington	14	5	9	6	1	3	1	16	33	
St. Mary, Lambeth	39	11	28	19	2	9	6	10	66	
St. Mary. Mag. Bermond.	24	8	16	10	7	6	4	70	66	
St. Mary, Whitechapel	19	1	18	12	1	6		8		51
St. Mary, Newington	10		10	3		7	1		14	52
St. Mary, Rotherhithe	20		20	11	4	9	5	36	55	56
St. Matth. Bethnal Green	16		16	16	5			41		
St Paul, Shadwell	21	9	12	9	2	3	3	22		
<i>Parishes in Westminster.</i>										
St. Ann, Westminster.*	24	9	15	5	1	10	5	20	50	34
St. Clement Dane *	31	6	25	6	4	19	17	66	90	137
St. Geo. Hanov. Square	142	32	110	47	10	63	44	21	70	34, 35
St. James Westminster	71	38	33	12	6	21	14	50	66	34
St. John Evang. and St. Mary, Westminster	108	20	88	60	17	28	18	28	64	34
St. Martin, in the Fields.	101	37	64	34	12	30	20	35	66	35
St. Mary, Strand	3	1	2	1		1	1	50	100	
St. Paul, Covent-garden*	15	4	11	6	3	5	2	50	40	35

Upon

Upon which I have made the following general Observations :

1. That some few parishes mention children of former years, discharged and delivered in those years, which is confounding the design of the act, and making work to no end.

2. That most of the parishes are deficient in mentioning, where children are nursed ; and though it is to be presumed, if no mention is made, that it was in the workhouse, where there is one ; yet it ought to be expressly declared, that we may see what the parishes are about.

3. That the discharge from the workhouse, in order to be nursed, need not be inserted, where it is mentioned *when* and *to whom* they are given to be nursed ; for this also is a repetition which only creates unnecessary writing.

4. The taking this general survey of all the registers of the parishes which have any number worth mentioning, is more than I originally intended, being frightened with the bulk of paper : but as in most other cases, the nearer we approach objects, the bolder we become, I have ventured so far. As to minute animadversions, I have neither time nor inclination to go deeper for the present, except it be in one instance, which strikes me with more horror and indignation than any thing I have yet met withal, either in this or any other laborious enquiry of the kind.

5. The object in question is the conduct of the officers of St. Clement Danes. I had the pleasure (page 51) to make some acquaintance with good nurse *Howe*, who, upon the face of the register, took such excellent care of the children belonging to *Whitechapel*. It is true those were of 2 to 4 years of age ; and these I am now about to speak of, are three of 1 and 2 years old, four new-born, and the remainder of 13 days to 7 months old. But surely Mrs. nurse *Poole* (for

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that

that is the woman's name) was not cast in the same mold, or composed of the same atoms, as Mrs. Howe.

6. Mrs. Poole had, in the year of our Lord MDCCLXV. the nursing of XXIII children, belonging to St. Clement Danes, the register of whose parish is particular in this, that it runs three of the deaths into January 1766, and this affords so much the clearer idea of the *memorable* transaction. The account of the 23 children stands thus:

Discharged at the age of 2 years	—	—	1
Ditto of 5 months	—	—	1
Remaining alive	—	—	3
Departed out of this transitory life, in her hands, after breathing the vital air about <i>one month</i>	—		18

7. For this *piece of service to the parish*, Mrs. Poole has been paid 2 s. each *per week*, which, considering the importance of the enterprise, must be deemed a very *moderate price*.

8. Nurse *Sadd* had 5 of their children, of whom there is 1 discharged, and only 1 dead, and consequently she is a good woman as far as I know.

9. Now in the name of the *Father of mercy*, let these parish officers give Mrs. Poole some other employment. She is certainly not qualified for a nurse, to keep children *alive*, though she seems to understand the art of *lulling* infants to their everlasting rest. I forbear, in this publication, to mention the *names* of the parish officers, though the task I have undertaken might justify it. *I hope they will repent, and sin no more*. If this event doth not raise indignation, farewell to all our pretensions to humanity!

10. In the F. H. we established a rule, that if a woman buried two children, she should not have a third to nurse; presuming that if she was not careless, nor wicked, she was unfortunate. In our hurry, *with thousands*, we deviated from our rule, and the same woman might, in a few instances, be charged with 3 or 4, one after another: but where is the boundary of St. Clement Danes? This woman began to prepare shrouds on the 19th of March 1765, and her last burial was on the 23th of Jan. 1766.

11. What the officers may have to say in their own defence, it is the precept of liberty and law to hear. They have signed the register in all due form, and I conclude, had no intention to impose upon the public, much less to injure it.

12. But so it is: this original deputy of heaven to govern the earth, and to subdue it to obedience; this lord and paragon, this miracle of excellency, is himself a *slave to custom*, and subject to be metamorphosed into a *monster*, even to the devouring of his own species. The deer, when smitten and marked out for destruction, is by their instinct of self-preservation abandoned by his kind. The rational animal, from his passions and his reason, if he is in the order the God of nature intended, flies to the succor of his kind, that is *unjustly smitten*. This is the *dilemma* of humanity; this is the *genius* of liberty; this is the *spirit* of laws.

13. The consideration now before us goes farther still: the great *Deliverer* of man from his *slavery* to sin; the great Judge of the whole earth, shewed a regard to children as the objects of his peculiar tenderness: if we look on, and see so *peculiar* a *cruelty* to them, for no other reason than because they are *poor*, where will be our *humanity*, our *liberty*, or our *religion*?

14. But in the secret workings of that merciful Providence which "*shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will,*" I am in hopes these *St. Clement Danes parish officers* will be the instruments of the greatest good to us; and that which at present seems to be so small an object of humanity, hardly cognizable by any law, may become a serious matter of our attention, that we may not depart from the law which forbids the *destruction of our species*, whatever the *poors law* may wink at; nor from the law of Christ, whatever the *custom* of some parishes may countenance.

15. The fallacy of the argument which these officers use, that they *cannot do better*, will then appear as *trifling*, as it is *unjust* and cruel. The whole matter is reduced to this: if persons chosen into parish offices are as indolent as men of fortune too often are, and less humane; if they are not *checked*, they will remain in this evil habit, because it creates so much less labor and expence to them. It is obvious that a little more industry, sense and virtue, and a little more money are necessary: and if we cannot find so much sense and virtue in one part of the town, we must *remove the object* to another: and if we cannot raise the money by one means, we must raise it by another: but the thing must be done; for if we look on with our eyes open, and are *passive*, we shall become partakers in this sanguinary cruelty and oppression.

16. If we go on, we may in time forget that the *life* of man is surrounded, as it were, with flaming swords, held up by an angel from heaven: why are these poor infants to be left without a *guard*, unless it be provided by a real miracle? In a case where these officers are *defendant, judge, jury, and executioner*, and think it *their interest* that the *prisoner should die*; being speechless, that he cannot plead, and

bound in a *loathsome* dungeon, from whence he is not removed into a situation of having *a fair trial for his life*, what but a *miracle* can save him? Where is the genius of our nation, our liberty, or our laws!—God forbid that we should *longer see this case*, or any other, through so false a medium, as to trample upon *that* justice and humanity, the *constitution* of which *no custom* can alter.

17. I have given my sentiments with the more freedom, from an opinion that according to the assertion of a very wise man, *there is a time for all things*. I think the period is come, in which such good sense and candor, such knowledge and zeal, such humanity and experience direct the councils of this nation, that we may obtain an act of the legislature for rectifying the *abominable* abuse in question, without bringing on any other evils.

18. This is an object totally independant of any *general new law* for the government of the *poor*, in which such great difficulties are found. — Whatever reasonable objections may be made to any such general law as hath been hitherto proposed, the bills of mortality are an exception. But I do not contemplate what may be done in general, for the relief of the poor at large, nor within the bills of mortality; *my object is the infant poor only, within the bills*. And seeing such ample enquiries have been made in times past, which we have now so fair an opportunity to confirm, in the most authentic manner, under the parochial officers own hands, I am constrained to think that some law will be formed and take effect, whereby this *havoc* of infant life, and this *national reproach* may cease.

19. There doth not want zeal nor ability in many of the acting governors of the F. H. to promote such a design; and as they see the indiscriminate reception is now become as impracticable as it is dangerous,

dangerous, they will naturally turn their thoughts to their proper object, the *infant poor within the bills of mortality*, for whom alone the corporation *was* or *should have been* founded.—And for the same reason that I presume the prejudices against the hospital, as to the bad effects of an indiscriminate reception, will give place to the reason of things, and the *present* and probably the *future* necessity, with regard to the usefulness of such a charity, I hope no difference in opinion concerning the mode of placing out the children now on hand, or any lesser concern, which is a distinct object, will obstruct the principal end and design of this humane and political institution. And I have reason to believe there is nothing which on a fair discussion shall be deemed a right measure for the governors of the F. H. to pursue, but they will readily concur with the sense of the H. of C. both in the design and the execution of any such *important trust*, as the lives of so valuable a part of the community. *Experience* proves what *can* be done by this hospital: and *experience* also proves what *cannot*, or probably *will not* be done, with any permanency in the parishes in question. An act of this kind must be deemed the most humane, tender, and political. As a law it must be compulsive, though in the *execution* there will necessarily be a latitude for discretion and humanity on all sides; and happy those who are compelled to avoid iniquity, and to promote their own welfare, and the glory of their country.

T H E E N D.



